Vol. XXXI] 1975 [Parts 1—4

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ALLAHABAD

ADITYA NATHA JHA
Commemoration Volume

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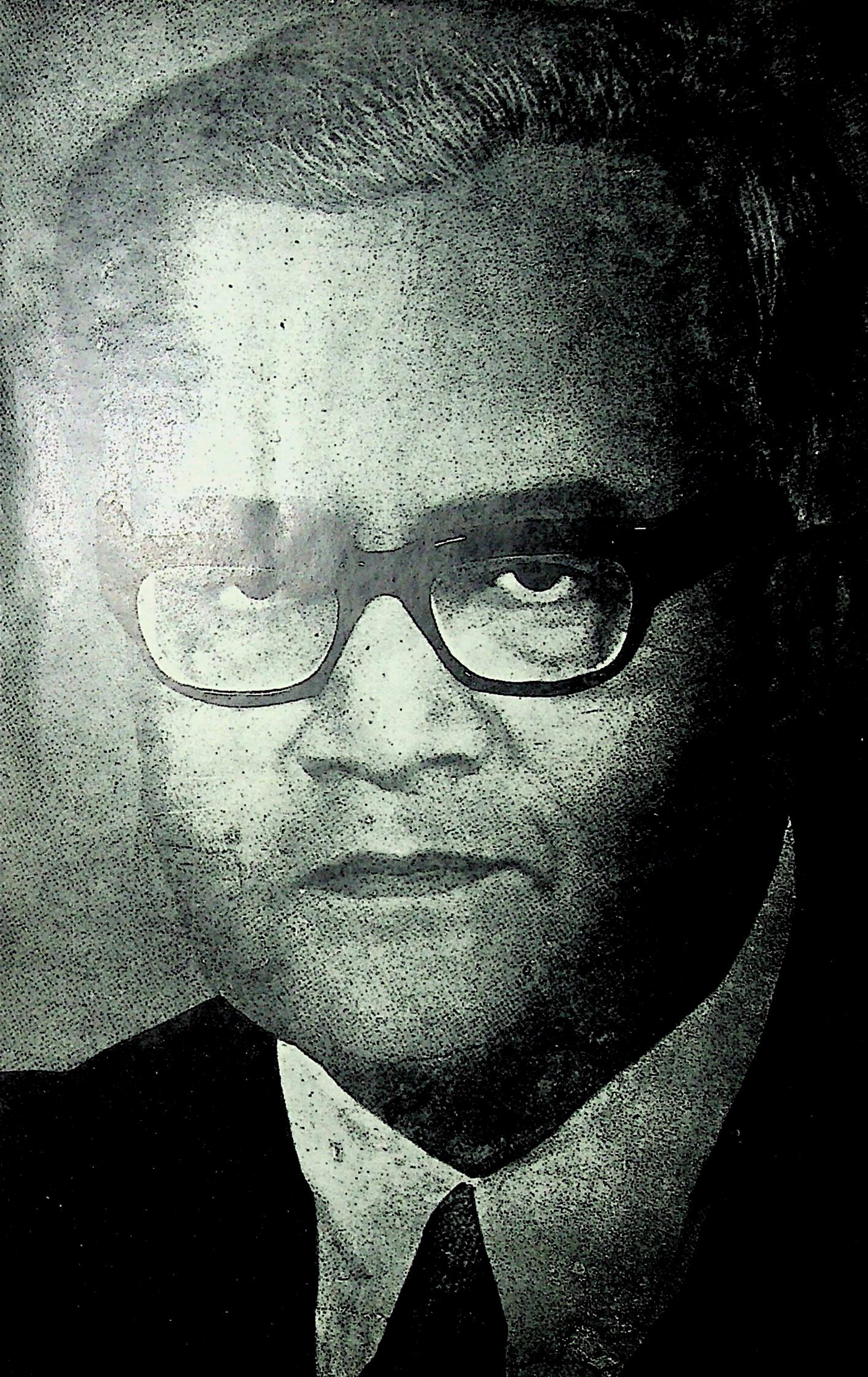
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ALLAHABAD

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FOREWORD

Dr. Aditya Natha Jha, the youngest son of Mm. Pandit Ganganatha Jha, the revered Panditji, was a notable successful educationist and administrator. Panditji's academic distinction was inherited by his second son, Dr. Amar Natha Jha, while his administrative capacity was eminently inherited by Dr.Aditya Natha Jha. I had the good luck to teach Aditya Natha Jha in under-graduate classes since he had taken Sanskrit as one of his optional subject. Aditya Natha Jha was a very brilliant student and took the M.A. degree in English. He joined the Indian Civil Services and held very distinguished posts under the Government of India. He was also the first Vice-Chancellor of the Sampurnananda Sanskrit Vishwavidyalaya,Varanasi. For sometime, he was the Director of the Academy which trained I.A.S. officeers. A few months before his death he expressed his wish to return to Allahabad and settle here after retirement, like his father and brother, both of whom were the Vice-Chancellors of the University of Allahabad and I requested Dr. Gopala Reddy, the then Chancellor of the University and Rajyapal of Uttar Pradesh to offer him the Vice-Chancellorship in 1971. I understand that the Chancellor did make an offer but God's will was otherwise as Aditya Natha Jha died of heart failure before he could leave the Lt. Governership of Delhi.

It was particularly on the persuasion of Aditya Natha Jha that the Government of India took over the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute under the direct control through the Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan. If he had returned to Allahabad, I would have requested the Government of India to appoint him as Chairman of the Sthaniya Prabandhak Samiti. This Institution owes a great debt to Aditya Natha Jha for his constant care and endeavour to enrich this Institution. This volume is being published as a token of our gratitude to him.

I, as Chairman of the Board of Editors of the Journal, am grateful to the contributors of the articles in this volume. Dr. (Smt.) Maya Malaviya, Dr. Brahma Datta and Shri Subodh Chandra Pant have seen the volume through the Press and I highly appreciate their services in this regard. Dr. Harihar Jha, Acting Principal has helped in bringing out this volume and we appreciate his services also.

(Babu Ram Saksena)

CHAIRMAN

EDITORIAL BOARD.

Allahabad

9th August, 1976.

PREFACE

Dr. Adityanatha Jha, a worthy son of the illustrious Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha was one of the prominent administrators in the coveted I. C. S. His contribution towards the construction of India in Post—independence period was great. It was strangely peculiar about him that his strenuous official duties had never been able to divest him of his love for scholarship and learning. He was a stalwart among the administrative officers, an educationist, an Indologi st and above all a humanist.

He was particularly involved in the growth and development of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Allahabad—a memorial to his father. He was all along closely associated with all the activities of the Institute. He had played an important role in effecting the taking over of the Institute by the Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan as one of its five units.

The Ganganatha Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha owes much to Dr. Adityanatha Jha for what it is today. We have no doubt that but for his untimely demise he would have done much more for promoting the cause of Sanskrit studies.

It is to pay an humble homage to Dr. Aditya Natha Jha that we are bringing out this XXXI Volume of our journal as the *Aditya Natha Jha Commemoration Volume*. The work was taken up and carried through to a large extent under the care of Dr. Brahmamitra Avasthi, Reader and the then Acting Principal of the Vidyapeetha about a year and a half before. It is regretted that its publication has been delayed due to certain unavoidable cricumstances. We express our heartiest thanks to our contributors to this Volume. We owe a debt of gratitude to the members of the Editorial Board for their kind guidance in the publication of this Volume. Special mention should be made of Shri Subodha Chandra Pant, Dr. Brahmadatta and Dr. (Smt.) Maya Malaviya who with due patience and care devoted much of their valuable time to the cum-

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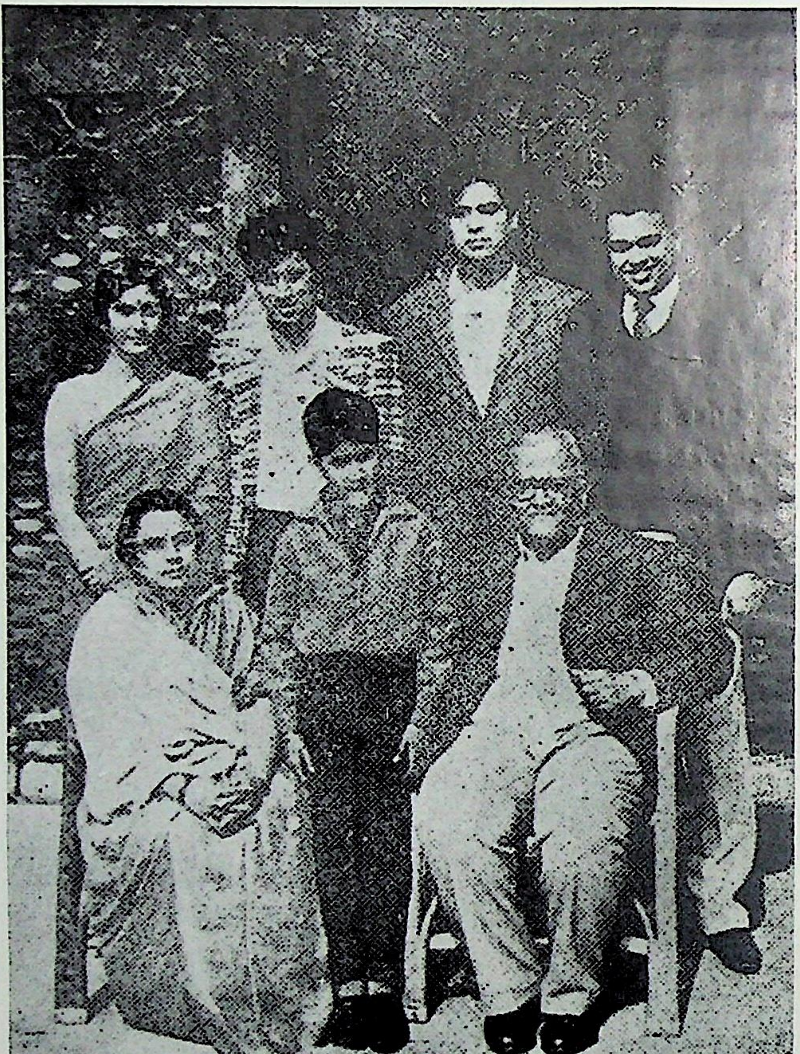
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Dr. Aditya Natha Jha with his family.

DR. ADITYA NATHA JHA AND HIS FAMILY

VEDANATHA JHA

The Jha family of Mithila has been phenomenal in more than one respect. It has had rare distinction of having produced as many as three Vice-Chancellors, three Doctors of Literature, two Padmavibhūṣaṇas and one Padmaśrī. It made a history in the academic world when the son took the charge of the distinguished office of the Vice-Chancellor from his father. While the husband was the Padmavibhūṣaṇa, Padmaśrī was conferred on the wife. In an age when the orthodox families did not take the University Education through English medium, all the five brothers of the family not only graduated but acquired high distinction in every field. While the elder brother was an I. A. S. the youngest was an I. C. S. The father and the maternal grand father of Dr. Jha were both Mahamahopadhyayas.

The family of the Jha's was that of Avadāta Śrotriyas; it followed the Mādhyanadina branch of *Śukla Yajurveda,* its gotra being Vatsa. Its Vijee puruṣa (the man from whom the family originated) was 'kapildeva' but a systematic chronology of the family is available from 'Raul Bhrigu'-who was the great grandson of 'Kapildeva'. The first prose writer of modern Indian languages 'Kaviśekhar Jyotirīśvarācārya', the author of *Varṇa Ratnākara, Dhūrta-Samāgama 'Pañcasāyaka'* and '*Kāvya Ḍākinī*' was a predecessor of the Jha's.

'Anumati Devi' who was the daughter in law of Harinarayana Bhairava Singh, the first wife of Rupanarayaṇa Ramabhadra and mother of Kaṃsanarayana Lakshminatha of the oinwar family was the daughter of Shiva Jha of Pali family resident of Mahisi in the district of Saharsa. The mother of Anumati belonged to Māṇdara family resident of village Jarabatia-a village about a mile west of Bhagirathapur (Madhubani). Shiva Jha of Mahisi was one of the most respectable among the Maithila Brahmins of his own times and it will greatly interest the scholars to know that the Late Dr. A. N. Jha was eleventh in the direct line of descent from Shiva Jha, and 'Madhava' who composed the panegyrics inscribed on Bhagirathapur inscription, belonged to the same family and was tenth in descent from the common ancestor from whom Shiva Jha was only the seventh.

Originally the Jha's held from Pali which still exists near Benipatti–thirty miles north of Madhubani District town. The Mūla of the Jha's, 'Palivāra' is a derivation from Pāli. One branch of this great family shifted to Mahisi which is still a distinguished village in the entire Mithila. It is situated five miles south-west of Saharsa, the head quarters of Kosi Division. It is flanked by the river Tilajuga in the west and Dhemura in the East. The name 'Mahisi' is a derivative from 'Mahiṣmati'–a famous Siddha peetha' (centre of learning of occult Sciences) for Centuries. The great Mimamsaka Pandit Mandan Mishra, who had conceeded to the great first 'Saṁkarācārya' hailed from this very village and Vidusi Bharati–the wife of Pandit Mandan

Mishra had given a very great defeat to the Jagadguru on the same soil. The great Philosopher Darasanakanana pancanana'Vacaspati Misra' is also said to have born near about Mahisi. Pandit Srikanta Jha maternal grandfather of Vidyapati, hailed from this very village. But the reputation of 'Mahisi' chiefly rests on its being the sanctuary of the Palivāra family. Mahisi has turned into an academic, cultural and religious nucleus also because of 'Ugratārā'-the kuladevatā (family deity) of the Palivara family, whose beautiful image is said to have been installed and her temple erected by this very family on the campus of their own residence. The descendants of the Palivarā family held to a rare tradition of Synchronizing the worship of 'kuladevatā' with that of 'Iṣṭadevatā' in goddess Ugratārā. The worship of Ugratārā conforms to 'Tibetan' tradition which seems to have come over to India through the Sage 'Vasiṣṭha'-history corroborates this presumption. The influence of 'China' and 'Tibeta' on the cult of Ugratārā worship is easily perceptable. The image of Ugratārā bears the clear stamp of that influence. From excavations made now and then in and outside Mahisi-several images of Lord Buddha have been discovered many of which are set as exhibits in Patna Museum and one of which is still found near the entrance of Ugratārā temple. The rulers of Pala dynasty seem to have spread this influence although Mithila never took favourably to Buddhistic influence.

The story how the predecessors of Dr. Jha left Mahisi and settled first in 'Sarisava-Pāhi' is very intere-

sting. Maharaja Śubhamkara Thākur, the son of Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Mahesa Thakur–the founder of khandavala dynasty was looked down upon by the Śrotriya community for his mother did not come of a high family. He was greatly in need of associating himself with some of the top–most families of Mithila. It was on his request that Acyuta Jha alias Ghonghe Jha decided to settle in Sarisava which was also his marriage place; as it was not possible for him to manage the affairs from such a long distance of more than thirty miles. He married Maharaja's daughter and got one of his daughters married to the son of Maharaja. The series of marriages must have added extra glory and prestige to the family of the Maharaja. It is since then that the decendants of Khanḍavala dynasty have been the leaders of Śrotriya community of Mithila. But even while shifting over to Sarisava–Pahi the predecessors of Dr. Jha did not forget to bring with them the tradition of Ugratārā worship. An image of Ugratārā, a much smaller replica of the one at Mahisi, was installed in a temple constructed by the grandfather of Dr. Jha.

Sarisava–Pahi enjoys a historical reputation in Mithila. A story goes that Balarāma being aggrieved with Kṛṣṇa took his refuge in Sarisava and installed there the image of 'Siddheśvarī'. It was here that Duryodhana, the eldest among the Kauravas is said to have learned from Balarāma the art of Wielding the club. Sarisava–a derivation from 'Siddhartha Chetra'– is the place of achievements. It has been the birth place of scholars and Saints from time immemorial like 'Ayaci',

Śamakara and kavindra-Gangananda for the last one thousand years, there has been no period in the history of this village when there existed no scholar of all India repute.

Pandit Tirtha Natha Jha, alias Dharanatha Jha, though not very well to do, was a saintly figure-one of the illustrious worshipper of *Gāyatrī*. It is said that he used to chant the *Gāyatrī* mantra one thousand times every day and completed the coveted number of three crores of *Gāyatrī* Japa. It was in keeping with the dying wish of Maharaja Kumar Vasudeva Simha of Gandhavari Deorhi (Pandaul) that he married the Mahāraja's daughter Smt. Ramakasi Devi. He died in Benaras in full consciousness-a proud privilege of orthodox Hindus.

The father of Dr. Jha had four brothers. They were all the cousins of Maharaja Lakshmisvara Singh and Ramesvara Singh the father of the last Maharaja Kameśvara Simha. The eldest brother Pandit Vindhyanatha Jha was the first Maithila Graduate. He was the Chief Adviser and Secretary to Maharaja Lakshmisvara Singh. He had begun translating '*Yajurveda Saṁhitā*' and '*Naiṣadhīyacarita*' in English but on account of his premature death at the age of only forty five, the works could not be either completed or published.

The second-brother Pandit Gaṇanātha Jha was a great scholar of astrology and 'Tantra'. He was a great friend of the great Maithila Kavi Kavisvara Canda Jha and composed songs in Maithili himself. A collection of his songs and the songs of his eldest brother Pandit

Vindhyanatha Jha was later edited and published by Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha and Dr. Amaranatha Jha under the title '*Vindhyanatha Gaṇanatha Padāvali*' at Allahabad in the year 1938.

The other two brothers Vijayanatha Jha and Vaidyanatha Jha were also learned. The former having his diffective eyesight could not prosecute his higher studies and remained at home to look after the home affairs and the latter Pandit Vaidyanatha Jha–a graduate and very dear to Maharajas, who held the key–post of 'Investment officer' of Raja Darbhanga till his death.

Vidyasagara Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganatha Jha–the father of Dr. Aditya Nath Jha was the third of five brothers with world wide repute. He studied Philosophy, Vyākaraṇa and Literature at the feet of great scholars of countrywide repute Mahamahopadhyaya Citradhara Misra, Shiva Kumar Shastri, Gangadhar Shastri, Kailasa Siromani Bhattacarya and Jayadeva Misra, whom he ever held in high esteem. Maharaja Lakshmisvara Singh always held him in high regard and made him the Librarian of his Library–the 'Raja Library'. The Maharaja was a progressive leader of the community and he devised to send a team of promising young men of Mithila to England for studying Western literature and science and also complete for the Indian Civil Service and he had decided to put the team under the able stewardship of Dr. Ganganatha Jha. Unfortunately the project had to be abandoned as the patron Maharaja died a premature death. The relation between the next Maharaja Ramesvara Singh

and Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha were somewhat strained. The Maharaja could not put up with the liberal ways of Dr. Jha and relieved him of his job as Librarian. For sometime even Dr. Jha had to experience the thorns of unemployment, but he utilised the critical period in writing articles which caught the attention of Mr. Thebo, the Principal of Queen's College, Banaras, who had also been Dr. Jha's teacher. It was Mr. Thebo who got him appointed as Lecturer in Sanskrit in Muir Central College, Allahabad in the year 1902. His migration from Darbhanga to Allahabad seems to have proved a great boon to him. It opened new vistas of study, experience, fame and glory to Dr. Jha. In the year 1919, he submitted his thesis on "Prabhākar School of Pūrva Mīmāṁsā' and he was awarded D. Litt. Degree for the same. In the succeeding year he was awarded 'Mahamahopadhyaya the highest title of oriental scholarship during the British regime. In the year 1919, he was appointed the first Indian Principal of the Queen's College Benares and in the same year, he was nominated a member of the State Council. From the year 1923 to 1932, he held the post of Vice-Chancellor of Allahabad University for three full terms and in 1941, the King conferred 'knight-hood' on him and in the same year on 1st November, he died of heart failure at Allahabad. Almost all his works (sixty in number) were published in his life time and three after his death. Writing was his only hobby. He continued writing about a hundred fullscape pages every day. He too like his ancestors used to chant Gayatrī Mantra, a thousand times every day and led a very simple and

unostentatious life. He laid no restriction on people seeking to meet him. He was an institution in himself and few have led a nobler and more glorious life. He vindicated the claims of Indian Scholarship among the learned societies of world and combined in himself profound learning and deep reverence for an ancient culture and philosophy with a marvellous faculty for interpreting them to the modern world. His learning and intimacy with every thing that is the best in our philosophy and culture reflected his daily life, his purity of character, the simplicity of his ways and his inveterate contempt for the advertising methods of the modern life. The late Mahatma Gandhi addressing students of Allahabad University on November 17th 1929 A. D., in the Senate Hall observed :—

> "Some of you may become powerful like the Maharaja of Bikaner, eminent at Bar like Teja Bahadur Sapru or learned like Pandit Ganganatha Jha, but you all can't rise to eminence."

Dr. Aditya Nath Jha was the youngest of five brothers and elder to one of his five sisters. His eldest brother captain Bhavanath Jha I. A. R. O. M. B. B. S., was the chief medical officer of Raj Hospital at Darbhanga. While being equally proficient in medicine and surgery he was greatly interested in hunting and writing and riding and was a connoisseur of poetry. He lost his wife and only child and later his eyesight and hence his last days were very painful

and heartrending. He could not bear the loss of his younger brother Dr. Amarnath Jha whom he used to call 'Bacca' and only after some months of his premature, sad and sudden demise he also succumbed to death at Lucknow.

The next brother, Queen Victoria Empress Jubilee medal winner Padmavibhusana Dr. Amaranath Jha was an international figure. He was a veteran educationist of world fame, an eminent scholar unsurpassed for his wide erudition and accuracy of knowledge, an ideal teacher loved and respected by tens of thousands of students all over the country and even abroad–a wise administrator at once upright and tactful; an intellectual gaint and more than anything else, he was a fine gentleman an embodiment of culture combining the best that is in the East and the West. A gifted scholar of English, he remained an ardent champion of Hindi–the national language of India, and yet his love for Sanskrit–the cultural language and Maithili–his mother tongue was second to none. When only forty one years of age, he was elected the Vice-chancellor of his alma mater and for three successive terms he was elected to hold that coveted post. In fact, he was the youngest Vice–chancellor to hold this post in India. He was also the Vice–chancellor of Benaras Hindu University for one year (on the retirement of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the ex–President of India) and Chairman of the U. P. Public Service Commission and the last days in the Government of Bihar in the same capacity. He was perhaps the only man in India to preside over the P. S. C. of two States. A great scholar and fine gentleman, he had shed undying

lusture upon the University of which he was the product and to the guidance and service of which he had dedicated years of ceaseless and fruitful activity. He was an asset to the world of renascent India. The late Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru–the first Prime Minister of India observed on his death on November 19th 1955.

> "For more years than I can remember I knew Dr. Amarnatha Jha. Indeed, for a little while, when I was a boy, I had the privilage of learning a little Sanskrit from his distinguished father, Pandit Ganga Natha Jha. Later I went to England. On my return I met Amaranatha Jha and from time to time we came across each other. I learnt to respect his scholarship and other fine qualities. He served the State in many capacities, ultimately became the chairman of the Public Service Commission of Bihar. Whatever work he undertook he did with distinction and everyone who knew him had a high regard for him. For my part, I had affection also. But for the fact that rules governing the Public Service Commission prohibit a person from accepting any other post, we would have linked him to occupy other posts of high responsibility. His death came as a sudden blow. "I had not imagined that he would leave us so soon."

The third brother Pandit Sivanatha Jha took his M. A. in English literature and he adorned many posts in the U.P. Education Department. He retired as Direc-

tor of Eductation, Manipur (Imphal) and died in Faizabad (U. P.) where he had finally settled.

The fourth brother Pandit Vibhutinatha Jha, an M. A. in Sanskrit was a very popular figure. He was greatly interested in sports, acting and was very philanthropic in disposition. Although, he was an I. A. S. officer, he had an unassuming life. He died in harness as District Magistrate at Muzaffarpur at the age of fifty two only.

Among the sisters of Dr. Jha, all married, two of them Jagaddhatri and Devi Devi, had died in the life time of Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha. Shrimati Shaivi Devi, Sita Devi and the youngest Śambhavi Devi are alive.

The mother of Dr. Jha, Smt. Indumati Devi came of an equally illustrious family of Srotriya Brahmina who followed the Mādhyanadina branch of *Śuk a Yajurveda,* the gotra being Kāśyapa and their Mula 'Sakarāḍhi-Parhat'. She was the daughter of Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Harsa Nath Jha–a distinguished courtier and a great scholar of Vyākaraṇa and Karmakāṇḍa at the court of Maharaja Lakshmisvara Singh. He was the author of *cātuscaraṇa yāgapaddhati, Samskāra Deepaka* etc. and a last follower of Vidyapati School of lyrics. He was a dramatist and a poet of Sanskrit, Maithili and Brajabhāṣa of great eminence. He was a resident of village Ujan tole Sārdapur in the District of Darbhanga.

In such a family Dr. Aditya Natha Jha was born at Allahabad on August 18, 1911. He was a precious child and hence he earned the nick name, 'Pandit'. The

Jha family has been more a tradition than a dynasty and Dr. A. N. Jha added to the heritage of his father Dr. Ganganatha Jha and Dr. Amar Natha Jha with his irrepressible elan. The Vice-Chancellor possessing this variety of talent character and personality could make an entire University. He bore a clear stamp of his father and elder borther Dr. Amarnatha Jha. It goes to his credit as to very few others, that he never stood second in any Examination he took in his life.

His early education was completed in Queen's College Benaras of which his father was the first Indian Principal. When his father was made the Vice-Chancellor of Allahabad University he secured his B. A, with Honours in English and later M. A. with record marks in the same subject. He also secured LL. B. from the same University. In 1934, he appeared at the I. C. S. Examination and topped the list of successful candidates, in the very first attempt. Although, a bit flabby, he excelled in riding. It was in recognition of his high excellence in riding that the late Maharaja Kamesvara Singh presented him a horse worth Rupees 6000.-(six thousand). In the year 1934, before he left for London as a probationer-Sri Jha got him married with "Padmasri" Adya Jha, the eldest daughter of Choudhary Badarinarain Roy-employed in Bihar Judicial service-a descendent of Sumeru Roy, who established the 'Sauria Estate' in Durgagang-in the district of Purnea-a highly respectable Yogya Brahamin family with their gotra Parasara and 'Surgane Mula'. Dr. Jha remained associated with Oxford University till 1936, where he got the laurel honour of 'Oxford Blue'-a rare distinction.

After coming back from London Shri Jha was made joint Magistrate of Faizabad as his first assignment in in 1936 and later was transferred to Benaras as city Magistrate. His efficiency drew the attention of the Central Government and later it selected him for the Foreign Political Service. He was posted to 'Eastern Estate's Agency comprising the Bengal and Orissa Estates, the 'chattisgarha' Estates including the controversial Vastar. On his return to the U. P. cadre, he was first appointed as Deputy Commissioner Incharge of Kanpur district and later as wartime Regional food controller in U. P. His first Secretarial post was in the finance Department of U. P. and later in the Agriculture Department. When as Secretary to the Zamindari Abolition Committee under the Chief Ministership of Pandit Govinda Ballabha Pant–a veteran leader and administrator of high reputation he compiled the Zamindari abolition report and on which the subsequent enactment was based.

After Independence, he successively held from 1950 onward a number of posts in U. P. such as that of Flood–Relief Commissioner, Food Production Commissioner, Development Commissioner and finally in 1954, he was elevated to the post of the Chief Secretary of that State, and in that capacity he continued upto 1958 adding fresh laurel to his administrative career. In 1958, when Dr. Sampurnananda–a patron of Sanskrit learning and veteran Educationist became the Chief Minister of U. P.; the Queen's College Benares was converted into a full fledged Sanskrit University. In view of Dr. Jha's adminis-

trative talents and love of learning, the Chief Minister picked him as the founder Vice-Chancellor of that University for the proper development and nourishment of Sanskrit Education. Dr. Jha gripped the opportunity with his assuming charge of the new office. Sanskrit education recorded un-precedented development which has not been bettered. It was in recognition of the memorable services rendered by him towards achievement of Sanskrit Education and learning that Varanasi Sanskrit University in a special convocation held on April 3rd, 1965, conferred on him the title of 'Vidyā Vācaspati' honoriscausa. In one of his broadcasts he boldly asserted :—

"Sanskrit is for India today a subject of supreme importance. We have shaken off the shackle of foreign domination and held an important place in the council of the world. Great opportunities have come to us to build up a future worthy of our great past and our great civilization. For this an adequate knowledge of the past is essential and this knowledge can come only through Sanskrit Literature and its off shoots. A nation loses its moorings if it breaks away completely from its past.

He had several schemes to implement, but before he could realise them he was recalled by the Ministry of Home affairs to become the first Director of the National Academy of Admistration at Mussorie, which required the ablest administrator cum educationst to give it shape. He joined his new assignment on Sept. 1st 1959. From Mussorie he was called in the middle of 1962 to join the Planning Commission as an Additional

Secretary in place of Mr. Triloka Simha ; and later was appointed Secretary, Defence Production in 1963-64. The department made tremendous progress during the tenure of his office. In 1964 on the present Prime Minister's assuming charge of the Information and Broadcasting Ministry, he was made her departmental Secretary, which he continued with great success till February 1966.

On 1st March 1966, he relieved Mr. V. Visvanathan I. C. S. and took the charge as the last chief Commissioner of Delhi-the then hot bed of politics and crime and on September 8, 1966 that very year he was elevated to the post of Lieutenant Governor of Delhi-the post he held till his sad sudden diparture from this sinful world. with heart attack at 10 P. M. on Tuesday the 18th January 1972. It gave a sad-sombre and gloomy look to the Rajanivasa which was plunged into grief and sorrow. There was never ending stream of people linning up to pay their last homage to their beloved Lt. Governor with flowers and wreaths. With the death of Dr. A. N. Jha who fostered Delhi metropolitan with his valuable sweat truly speaking an administrative dynamo disappeared from the Indian Scene.

Dr. A. N. Jha was the *enfant terrible* of the Indian Civil Service. As Chief Secretary, he was more than the Chief Minister. Whatever he did, he had gubernatorial air, and as Governor, he had been vice-regal except for the syntax. In Delhi's mixture of pantomine and party politics he had been a Bobdingnarigan in Lilliput. The facial uplift of New Delhi,

which he planned and guided during his Stewardship of Delhi administration as Lt. Governor will remain as a standing memorial and testimony to his excellence in Planning. As the head of the Delhi administration Dr. Jha made new land marks in administrative reform. His popularity in every field reached record peak ; it was in high appreciation of his Versatile genius and thundering popularity that the citizens of Delhi accorded him a grand felicitation. The ceremony was held in the Rastrapati Bhawan in which late Dr. Zakir Hussain, the then President of Indian Republic presented him with three volumes of "*Samskriti*"*-Dr. Aditya Nath Jha Abhinandana Grantha*' consisting of nearly seventeen hundred pages , edited by a distinguished scholar of world wide fame—Padmavibhusana Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Gopinatha Kaviraja.

In an interview granted to Mr. Basanta Chatterji, the special correspondent of 'CARAVAN', he was asked-"could you recount some of your tough assignments and tell as your experiences on those tasks such as you might like to share with the people" ?

He had replied. "I think, my work as secretary agriculture in U. P. will ever remain in my mind as a memorable interlude in my long service career." He said-"Apart from Zamindari abolition, with which I was all along associated—the main challenging task that confronted me in that capacity was the reclamation of the Tarai area in Nainital."

"Over 99 percent of this tract was scrub, full of marshes and swamps, and infested with Malaria yet we

succeeded in clearing and reclaiming over a hundred thousand acres of virgin soil in this area and rehabilitated several thousand displaced peasant families from West Pakistan on this land. This area is now one of the most flourishing agricultural tracts in U. P. The people hardly, all Panjabi peasants are prospering-Malaria has been completely eradicated, and I think there are now fewer mosquitoes in Nainital Tarai than there are in Bareilly or Muradabad."

Bureaucrats, unlike politician, are only seen and seldom heard. It is commonly believed that humanism is not a quality which flowers amongst Civil servants. But the example of Dr. Jha should suffice to dispel any doubts there may be about the possibilities of such co-existence. He was a very jolly figure. The devious problems of administration did not rob him of his conviviality. He was a great wit and sometimes one could hear him burst into peals of laughter. He would often say that he was determined to out frown moroseness and melancholy and drive it off with his thunderous laughter. Dr. Jha has truly become a legend in his life time. Physically as well as intellectually he was much in common with the famed Dr. Johnson and G. K. Chesterton of another era. Shri Roy has rightly remarked on him.:-

"He may have been a Raleigh without losing his head in queen Elizabeth's time, a buccaneering cavalier of the coffee house in queen Annes. Inspit of his Johnsonian carriage, robust looks and an occasional rumbustious air, he had combined litheness and blithness

of spirit, wit and humour and narrative gifts wrapped up in guffaws of chestertonian laughter. His rollicking homour and shrewd common sense endeared him to all sections." His grassroof open Darbara of every wednesday at 'Rajanivasa' livened up the place and his aphorisms are as much packed with good sense and punch as the sayings and findings of the quazis of old. A newspaper account in the 'Pioneer' (may 4, 1966) of how he disposed of tricky matrimonial disputes makes hilarious reading.

Inspite of his onerous rosponsibilities amidst the duties personal, professional and social, amidst all these distractions Dr. Jha still managed to study books old and new from nine in the evening till two a. m. No wonder, therefore, that his dissertations on 'Shree Ganesha' and 'The problems of administration' are so original, revealing and thought provoking. Unfortunately, the works could not be completed; but even in their incomplete forms they go a long way towards revealing Dr. Jha's scholarship and rich experience. He wielded a facile pen and could write equally well in the simple style of Holy Bible or the ornate style of great Victorians. Essentially and by life long dedication he was a scholar not of Sanskrit alone; to be exact he was a 'Pandit' of quite e number of languages. He was a seeker of truth and a devotee of knowledge, a thinker and philosopher the like of whom one is more likely to come across in the high doomed halls of some great seat of learning that is a dialapidated old residence cum office building under perennial repair and cluttered with ricketty chairs. His

speeches and articles scattered in different Bulletins and Research Jouruals epitomize his high intellect and genius. Really a 'Michel Angelo' of civil service as he was called he left nothing untouched and touched nothing which he did not adorn. From reciting for the benefit of his friends on hilarious and friendly evenings, the poetry of Jayadeva to Shakespeare, Vidyapati to Ghalib aud then by easy transition moving into the modern developments in that art of semantics. He was an intellectual giant, a marvellous man who seemed to know almost everything under the Sun. With his passing away, has indeed passed away a walking encyclopaedia of universal knowledge.

It is remarkable that Dr. Jha blazed a new trail wherever he was posted. As administrator Dr. Jha was fearless and ruthless he never yielded to the pressure of Politicians and never compromised public interest for personal gains. Combining in him exceptionally high class intelligence, intellectual ability and administrative capacity to manage men and human affairs efficiently Dr. Jha possessed in adequate measure the intellectual and emotional integration required for the purpose. In fact, this made the task extremely difficult and delicate for the successor who followed him in office. He was very reluctant to be carried away by any craze, however high it sounded. He had his clear cut views which he arrived at after a process of thorough intellectual analysis and synthesis. He was a good friend but no bad enemy and no one would say that he ever hit any one below the belt. However intensely he might be in opposite

camp. He had a great heart and often his pity gave way where charity began. The most amazing thing about Dr. Jha was that even in the midst of his heavy pre-occupations with administrative works, he snatched out time for intellectual and cultural pursuits. He was actively associated with a large number of literary and cultural organisations including the Sahitya Akademi and Ganganatha Jha Research Institute. He was the chairman of Pandit Ksetresh Chandra Chattopadhyaya Felicitation Committee, but long before it could materialize, he expired. It was really his effort that the Research Institute was taken by the Central Government and was converted to Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha.

Dr. Jha was magnanimity incarnate. He had a ready tear for the poor and under-privileged. Once he was convinced of the gen ineness of any one's tale of woe, he could do all in his power to relieve his miseries. His dress was occidental, but his psychology was oriental and he had the greatest respect and regard for ancient Indian culture. In "Yadunandana Simha Memorial Lecture" he observed :-

"In the present education system, it must be borne in mind that India has a specific culture of its own. In other countries like Egypt, Greece and Iran as well, in ancient time they had their own separate cultures. But these cultures had been virtually lost and now only their remnants could be found in the old buildings, Images, Caves and Museums. On the other hand, the impact of the ancient Indian culture and civilization of India and

'China' could be found even in this present age in our life. Therefore, the most important duty of teachers of today is to get every student well acquainted with culture as a human culture and its basic principles are available in Sankrit literature. God is the creater of Universe. The followers of Islam and Christianity, too carry this belief. Some scholars hold the view that every Indian belived that one's happiness and sorrow was the result of the doings of his previous life. To get every citizen acquanted with all these religions Philosophies, theories etc. should therefore be the efforts of education."

He had a very strong conviction that real education begins before adolescence. Stressing on child's learning faculty he once remarked :—

" Psychological researches had proved that fifty percent of the development of the learning faculty in a child was attained in four years of his age. Eighty percent within eight years of his age. All emotions developed within Eight years of his age, and they started taking a permanent shape in him. The child would develop his personality in accordance with the opportunity he was provided with for the purpose. Therefore, a well thought out, well organised and well planned educational programme was needed for the children upto eight years. Nursery and Kinder garten schools should be opened in larger numbers and it should be borne in mind that in those schools every possible facility was made available so that it might help in the proper development of the children, Physically, mentally, socially and educationally."

"Whatever knowledge, a child gained, it gained by imitation and by doing. Therefore, atmosphare of the nursery and kinder garten schools should be such as to afford regular opportunities to the children in a natural way in order to develop in them a sense of co operation, sympathy and rejoicings in beauty. Till eight years of age, the environment of schools for children should be conductive. The children were required to be provided with good books, able teachers and well organised social functions to connect them with emotional string with a balanced way at later stages so that they might remain alive to their moral and academic responsibilities."

Originally a scholar of English Dr. Jha felt quite at home in Sanskrit, Urdu, Hindi, Maithili and even in Philosophy. His interest in philosophy was a heritage from his noble philosopher father. Once Dr. Kailasanatha Katju, the then chief Minister of Madhya Pradesa, invited him to deliver three lectures on Indian Philosophy. Dr. Jha's lectures were precise, lucid and highly authentic. Dr. Katju was so impressed that he requested Dr. Jha to make a Hindi translation of the lectures available for publication and the Madhya Pradesh Government published it in the form of a book— "*Bhaātīya Darśano kā Samanyaya*" in 1969.

Though a great scholar of English language and literature Dr. Jha was anti-conventional in many ways. He did-not favour a slavish adherence to kings' English or Queen's English. Delivering Russell Memorial lecture (on earlier occasions delivered by man of eminence like Mr. John Galbraith, Mr. HU

of China, Prof. Humayun Kabir and C. Rajagopalacari) on the premises of Patna College on January 15, 1970, he frankly suggested the use and retention of and an encouragement to Indian English :

"Americans had a language of their own so different from English that there was an Oxford book of American usage. The English themselves were not and Americans most certainly were not bequeathing to others the tongue of Shakespeare. There was no reason why an Indian should be ashamed of Indian English. Who is there in North India who will not understand a young man, who has enjoyed a 'freeship', is going to do 'teachery' and who after few years says he is engaged in 'Headmatery'. Similarly why should we accept the English phrase 'Maresnest' and object to that adoption from Bengali 'horses egg'. Why should we adhere to 'all this' when 'this all' is the natural order suggested by the usage of our own language ? Why insist on 'yet' following 'though' when in Hindustani we use the equivalent 'But' ?

Dr. Jha like his father, maternal grand father and brother was a veteran supporter of his mother tongue–and never forgot the debt he owed to Mithila and Maithili–although Dr. Jha led all his life outside Mithila and the various offices, he held were highly sophisticated. In such families as Dr. Jha, native language generally yeilds to English or Hindi, but no member of Jha speaks while at home any language other than Maithili. In his Inaugural address to the All India Maithili Conference at Bombay on 26th January 1969, he said that

he could never imagine forgetting or showing indifference to the language he learned from the lips of his mother–a language that had been adorned by the poet Kavisekhara Jyotirisvara, Vidyapati, Govind Dasa, Gadadhara, Chandrakala, Yasodhara, Umapati, Gangadhara, Pritinatha, Bhanjana, Lochana, Amritakara, Bhanunatha, Harsanatha Jha and Chanda Jha. It was at Dr. Jha's initiative that a recording centre for all India Radio was established at Darbhanga–a centre that is soon going to be a full fiedged Radio Station. It was again Dr. Jha's keen interest in the development and researches in Maithili language and literature that inspired Dr. P. L. Srivastava to set up Post-Graduate Department and Research Fellowship in Maithili in Bihar University. He was all along a member of the Maithili Advisory Board of the Sahitya Akademi of Delhi. It was in view of those sterling qualities of Dr. Jha and his love of Mithila and Maithili and his high reputation of an administrator that made Pandit Ḥarinatha Misra, speaker of Bihar Legislative Assembly and founder of the very idea of a University of Mithila–a pioneering Leader, almost firm in his decision to request him to accept the first Vice-Chancellorship of Mithila University when it came into being.

He was very much interested in gardening. He had always a very fine and rare collection of roses in his own garden, wherever he happened to live. His own residence 'Maya' in George town, Allahabad—where his family has finally settled and where he had thought to reside after his retirement—is an exhibition of beautiful

flowers. One could see him going into the garden early in the morning with scissors in hand, he collected flowers for decorating himself and was found very much distressed if a plant withered.

A lover of fine arts and music—he had an astonishing sense of appreciation of paintings and he maintained a coveted collection of water colours and oils in his study. Not only this, he had a keen sense of appreciation of Indian Classical Music. Sometimes, he burst into traditional Ragas and Raginis himself. Musicians found a very hospitable host in him. There is none in Jha family who can't either sing or play on a musical instrument.

Dr. Jha had a keen interest in games and sports. He was regular tennis player and Golfer too. Later on, he was also the Patron Chairman of Badminton Association for t e officers at Delhi.

Beyond all, Dr. Jha was an excellent family man. He had four sons, Pramathanatha Jha, Ajitanatha Jha, Rajanatha Jha and Ravindranatha Jha. The eldest Engineer, the second a graduate and rest are studying. His daughter Rama was married to a Doctor Raghunandan Simha of Khandawala family at Raghopur Deordhi in the district of Darbhanga. Before his death he had seen his grandson and grand daughter. The family's hobbies range from mechanics to music. Atonce affectionate and solicitious of the happiness of the large number of his kith and kin, he had always with him about more than a dozen relations and they know how kind and vigilant he had been to each one of them.

than they have been, and production of goods had kept pace with the demand, the need for this step would not have arisen at all."

"Statesman yet friend to truth ; of soul sincere
In action faithful, and in honour clear ;
Who broke no promise, served no private end
Who gained no title and who lost no friend."

Galup Poll.

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THE THEORY OF PUNISHMENT IN THE DHARMASŪTRAS

*Dr. Ramkumar Acharya**

The *Dharmasūtras* give in detail rules of conduct, which regulate even the smallest acts of an individual's daily life and thus secure for him an honourable position in society. According to the *Dharmasūtras*, the preservation of the social *status quo* is the purpose of law and it is only through the security of the existing institutions that order can be maintained. The authors of the *Dharmasūtras* do not attach much importance to the principle of equality. Though they also base their theory of law on 'welfare' or 'utility', yet we find their minds working in the framework of the caste system, reservation of special privileges to the classes. The ideas of indulgence, of privilege and of charity found in these *Sūtras* are related with the then prevailing conception of justice and work beyond the effects of distributive justice.

It may be mentioned here that other ancient systems of law also had a time when the maintenance of social *status quo* was looked upon as the ends of law. In the Greek system, for example, we come across similar theories of the ends of law. The idea of maintaining social order through law is fully developed in Plato also. But Plato did not regard the existing social order as the ideal one. Re-classification of the people was deemed necessary by him and when the classification and assignment of individuals to the classes had been completed, the law was a device to keep them there. It was a device to prevent the disturbances of the social order by holding each individual to his appointed place. If a

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talented individual who through wisdom could be everything and do everything, comes to the city state, he is to be required to move on.[1]

Aristotle also put the same idea in another form, asserting that justice is a condition in which each keeps within his appointed sphere. These Greek philosophers also were convinced that in every society there must be grades, masters and servants, the privileged and the unprivileged, the upper and the lower classes. They did profess to preach that justice is equality, but their equality was only a relative equality. They would say "to those on a par, let there be a parity of treatment, but for those unlike in circumstances there shall be unlike treatment according to merit and service, according to worth or guilt."[2]

The authors of the *Dharmasutras* also contemplate a similar measure of justice. Only they would not think of any classification made by some human agency. The administration of this justice is considered to be the duty of King, and it is said : "Let the king, paying attention to all the laws of countries, castes, families, enable the four castes fulfil their respective particular duties. Let him punish those who stray from their path (स्वधर्म). But punishment must be awarded after due consideration of place, time, age, learning of the parties and the seat of injury".

Vasiṣṭha Dha. XIX 7-9.

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1. Roscoe Pound, *Intro. to Legal Philosophy*, P. 76; Pulszky, *Theory of Law and Civil Society*, P. 297, 337; Berolzheimer, *World's Legal Philosophies*, P. 60, 66; W. Durant, *Stories of Philosophy*, P. 18-22, 45.
2. Roscoe Pound, *ibid*, P. 77; Berolzheimer, *ibid*, P. 60-66, 69-74; Pulszky, *ibid.*, P. 299; W. Durant, *ibid*. P. 81.

Similar provisions are met with in all the other Sūtras also.[1] But one remarkable thing in this connection is that these *Dharmasūtras* never ignore the relative castes of the parties in defining the nature and measure of punishment.[2]

And here we come to the penal code of the *Dharmasūtras.* The *Dharmasūtras* prescribe punishment for every possible crime from abuse to murder. Their penal code is very extensive and elaborate, yet it is not indiscriminate or arbitrary. Referring to punishment Gautama says, 'The word Daṇḍa (दण्ड) is derived from Dam (दम्); therefore the King should restrain the unrestrained with it.' Further he has defined the nature and measure of punishment for various offences keeping in view the relative castes of the parties concerned. In this connection the remarkable thing is that if in some offences the śūdra (शूद्र) has been awarded the severest punishment, in others, he gets the minimum and the higher castes get the higher. As for example, in theft, the śūdra has to pay the eightfold as fine, while other castes have to pay the double of it (eightfold) successively, the reason being that those who even after knowing the offence commit it, commit a greater crime and should get greater punishment. Finally, Gautama declares that punishment should be given after the due consideration of the offender's personality, his physical and monetary power, the offence itself and the repetition of the offence. In controversial cases, the King is advised to consult the witnesses and the pleaders also. The witness giving a false evidence is held punishable.[3]

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1. *Gautama Dharma.*, XI. 9-10; *Baudhāyana,* 1-X 18; *Āpastamba* 2.2.2; Viṣṇu *Dharma.*, III
2. *Gautama Dharma.*, XII; *Baudhāyana,* 1. X 18-19; *Āpastamba,* 2.10.17; 2.11.1; Vaśiṣṭha, 19-21 Chaps.; Viṣṇu *Dharma.* 5th Chapter.
3. *Gautama Dharma.*, 2. 2. 28; 2. 3. 12-14; 2. 3. 48; 2. 4. 1; 23, 26.

Baudhāyana also lays emphasis on the capability of the offender and the suitability of the punishment while prescribing punishment for murder.[1] He also advises the witnesses to speak the truth in the interest of public opinion and decries the witnesses giving false evidence. He requires the witnesses to have sons also. All this discussion about the punishment and the witnesses in his Sūtra leads us to think that Baudhāyana is very alert about his penal system and does not sanction any indiscriminate punishment. So says he : 'One-fourth of merit goes to the judge, one-fourth to the witness, one-fourth to all the members of the court and one-fourth to the king. The king becomes free from the guilt, members of the court are also freed and the guilt goes to the guilty where the reprehensible ones are reprehended.'[2]

Vasiṣṭha also has given a great consideration to his penal code. Declaring persons not following their respective duties as punishable by the king, he advises the king to punish them by means of both injury and censure keeping in view the place, time, age, learning of the parties and the seat of injury. Further he says : 'A thief becomes free from guilt by entering the royal presence after his deed and asking to be punished; if a case worthy of punishment is allowed to go free, the king shall fast during one day and one night, and his domestic priest during three days and nights; if an innocent man is punished, the domestic priest shall perform a *Kṛcchra* (कृच्छ्र) penance and the King shall fast during three days and nights; men who have committed offences and have received from kings the punishment due to them, go pure to heaven and become as holy as the virtuous, the guilt falls on the king who pardons an offender, if he causes him to be slain he destroys sin in accordance with the sacred law; it is ordained that kings become at once pure by bathing when they have done acts causing death.'[3]

1. *Baudhāyana Dharma.*, 1. 18. 20; 1. 19. 9.
2. *Baudhāyana Dharma.*, 1. 19. 14. and 1. 19. 10-11.
3. *Vasiṣṭha Dharma.*, 19. 8-9; 19. 38-47.

Āpastamba also gives in detail various provisions of punishment with certain reservations. Regarding the Brāhmaṇas, he says that the king should admonish them with various penalties excluding capital punishment and servitude. For others, he is of the opinion that the king should punish them according to their deeds even with capital punishment. In doubtful cases, the king is advised to consult the witnesses and further consider the case carefully.[1]

In another place, while discussing the persons entitled to heaven (स्वर्ग) and hell (नरक) as a result of their actions, he mentions the instigator (प्रयोजयिता), the seconder (अनुमन्ता) and the real agent (कर्ता). In his penal code, all these three are regarded as guilty.[2]

The *Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra* also expresses the same view. It advises the king to punish the guilty according to the guilt, to administer punishment after due thought and not to forgive anyone for his second offence. Further it declares that everyone not following his respective duties is punishable by the king. Making thus punishment an essential duty of the king, it is further advised that the criminals should be punished in consultation with the learned Brāhmaṇas, the witnesses and other evidences according to their caste, wealth and age. *Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra* also differentiates in punishment on the basis of caste.[3]

The various provisions of punishment met with in the *Dharmasūtras* do remind us of the 'tooth for tooth' law and point to its low origin.[4] The Sūtrakāras, no doubt, retain these laws and seem,

1. *Āpastamba Dharma.*, 2. 10. 17; 2. 11. 1-3.
2. *Āpastamba Dharma.*, 2. 29. 1
3. *Viṣṇu Dharma.*, 3. 91-94; 5. 194.
   अपराधेषु चान्येषु ज्ञात्वा जातिं धनं वयः ।
   दण्डं प्रकल्पयेद्राजा संमन्त्र्य ब्राह्मणैः सह ।। वि० ध० 5.194 ।
4. Vide *Gautama Dharma.*, 2. 3. 1; 2. 3. 6-11; *Āpastamba*, 2. 10. 27. 14; *Viṣṇu Dharma.*, 5. 19-37 and many others.

at any rate, to recognise the possibility of the assertion of law by coercion. Throughout the Sūtra literature, the notion of law is attended with this idea. As a matter of fact, the necessity of the application of force arises only when persons decline to shape their actions voluntarily in conformity with the purpose of law. Hence, it is not the question of the applicability of coercion, but of the concrete necessity of employing it. And this question of the necessity of employing coercion or force is naturally connected with the question of the sphere of action of the king. Coercion does not constitute such a component element of law as to be, in all circumstances, inseparable from it, because an ideal condition, where there would never be an occasion for having resort to it, is not entirely impossible. So we find that in the *Dharmasūtras* coercion forms the reserve and background only of the existing law and it is only in emergencies that an appeal is made to it.

The *Dharmasūtras* do recognise that force is necessary to guarantee justice but they do not think justice without force to be impotent. The Sūtra theory of Daṇḍa evidences only a rising conciousness of the force idea. Like our ancient philosophers, these Sūtrakāras also take human nature as essentially good and sociable and so consistently with this view, these Sūtrakāras do not declare fear to be the ultimate guarantee of right and duty. But, still, they feel that the maintenance of law and order would not be secured unless there were force behind. As these sages of the Dharmasūtras regard happiness the test of right and duty, they have elevatad punishment from the position of a mere vulgar threat to that of a sublime purifier. According to these Sūtrakāras, punishment is necessary not to satisfy the animal avenging spirit, not to threaten the future probable offenders, not even to correct the offender; it is necessary for the welfare of the offender himself. Its essence lies in its utility to the sufferer himself in his whole existence. Thus punishment has an ethical value of its own in the *Dharmasūtras*.

Consistently with this philosophy of punishment, we find in the penal system of these *Dharmasūtras* provisions of various atonements (Prāyaścittas). The deterrent and preventive provisions of punishment are based on fear or force but atonements (प्रायश्चित्तानि) are quite a different affair. In atonements the offender torments himself voluntarily or sometimes with the command of the public. Atonements testify the inner approval of the ethical sense in the offender, remove the blemish of the offence from the offender's mind, purify the inner conscience of the offender and improve the character of the individual by means of self-education and self-control. In other words, it can be said that atonements (प्रायश्चित्तानि) are a sort of reformative punishment. Manu, Aṅgiras and Yājñavalkya in their codes have explained the nature of atonement (प्रायश्चित्तम्) quite clearly. Manu says that an individual not performing the ordained duty, doing the forbidden act and further engaged in sensuous activities becomes liable to atonement. Aṅgiras defines the Prāyaścitta in the following way; "*Prāyas* is austerity; *Cittam* is determination; The determination to observe penance is called Prāyaścittam".

Maharṣi Yājñavalkya also declares; "Man becomes degraded by not performing the positive injuctions, doing the negative ones and indulgence in sensuous objects. Therefore, he should perform atonements and thus his conscience as well as the public are pleased."[1]

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1. I अकुर्वन् विहितं कर्म निन्दितं च समाचरन् ।
प्रसक्तश्चेन्द्रियार्थेषु प्रायश्चित्तीयते नरः ॥ म० स्मृ०, ११. ४४ ।
II प्रायो नाम तपः प्रोक्तं चित्तं निश्चय उच्यते ।
तपो निश्चयसंयोगात्प्रायश्चित्तमिति स्मृतम् ॥ म० स्मृ०, अंगि० स्मृ० ११.४७
III विहितस्याननुष्ठानात् निन्दितस्य च सेवनात् ।
अनिग्रहाच्चेन्द्रियाणां नरः पतनमृच्छति ॥
तस्मात्तेनेह कर्तव्यं प्रायश्चित्तं विशुद्धये ।
एवमस्यान्तरात्मा च लोकश्चैव प्रसीदति ॥ या० स्मृ०, ३.२१९-२२० ।

In the *Dharmasūtra* of Gautama, on the aphorism 'प्रायश्चित्तम् 3-4-1', Haradatta, the commentator, too clearly says, 'Observance of penance with firm determination is called Prāyaścittam'—निश्चित्य तपसोऽनुष्ठानं प्रायश्चित्तम् ।

Prāyaścittas also have been recognised in the *Dharmasūtras* as a sort of punishment and have been included in the penal code of the state also. Like other punishments, these expiatory rites also are prescribed to various culprits according to their caste, age, capacity, wealth and learning. Persons, not undergoing any sort of expiation out of their own will, are ordered to undergo expiation or other punishments by the state.

Finally, it may be said that the punishment theory of the *Dharmasūtras* is a very sagacious one. Though it is based on the force idea, yet it is not wholly ruthless. It believes in the goodness and sociability of the human nature and does not condemn the individual for ever. Offenders are punished not to become habitual criminals and anti-social elements. They are given a chance by way of punishment to elevate and purify themselves. Punishment is awarded for the welfare of the offender himself. The sufferer is thought to be benefited in his whole existence—this life and life afterwards. As these sages of the *Dharmasūtras* try to elevate mankind from bare animality to perfect humanity, all their penal provisions are directed towards this aim only. Punishment is thus an ethical process to bring again the guilty to the path of right and duty. The *Dharmasūtras* prescribe it as an opportunity and not a calamity.

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विविधमतेषु मोक्षस्वरूपम्

वि० श्री० रङ्गनाथाचार्यः

अमरकोशे मुक्तिः, कैवल्यं, निर्वाणं, श्रेयः, निःश्रेयसं, अमृतं, मोक्षः, अपवर्गः इत्यष्टौ शब्दाः मोक्षपर्यायतया पठ्यन्ते। एतेषां अष्टानां शब्दानां वाच्यः अर्थः एक एवेति एतेषां सहपठितत्त्वादेव ज्ञायते। कोशेषु समानार्थकत्वेन पठितानामपि शब्दानां भिन्नप्रवृत्तिनिमित्तकत्वात् अस्त्येव कश्चन अर्थभेद इति सर्वैरङ्गीकृतमेव। एकस्यैव वस्तुनः भिन्नगुणक्रियादीनादाय भिन्नभिन्ना शब्दाः प्रवर्तन्ते। एका एव देवव्यक्तिः द्योतमानत्वात् देव इति, मृतिरहितत्वादमर इति, जरारहितत्वात् निर्जर इति च अभिधीयते। मुक्तिशब्दः मुचिधातोः क्तिन् प्रत्यययोगेन निष्पन्नः। मुक्तिः इत्युक्ते कस्माच्चित् बन्धात् मुक्तिः इत्येव स्वरसतः प्रतीयते। बन्धश्च अनादिकर्म प्रवाह परिकल्पित संसार रूपः। एतस्मात् संसारात् आत्यन्तिक निवृत्तिः मोक्षः इति प्रायः सर्वेषां दार्शनिकानां मतम्। तादृशनिवृत्तिरेव मोक्षः, निवृत्तेरनन्तरं आत्मनः कश्चन सुखविशेषो भवति स एव मोक्षः, निवृत्तेरनन्तरं आत्मा सुखदुःखाद्यनुभवहीनः पाषाणवत्तिष्ठति स एव मोक्षः इत्यादीन्यनेकानि मतानि मोक्षस्वरूपविषये दृश्यन्ते। विभिन्नदर्शनेषु मोक्षस्वरूपविषये याः प्रतिपत्तयः सन्ति तासां दिङ्मात्रप्रदर्शनमस्य लेखस्य उद्देश्यम्। तदर्थं मोक्षस्य प्राप्तुः आत्मनः, प्रापकस्य उपायस्य चापि तत्तद्दर्शनानुसारेण स्वरूपमुपवर्ण्य मोक्षस्वरूपं विविच्यते।

अत्र प्रथमं दर्शनानि द्विधा विभज्यन्ते नास्तिकानि एवं आस्तिकानि चेति। तत्र यानि दर्शनानि वेदोदितलोकादीनि न सन्ति इति वदन्ति तानि नास्तिकानि; यानि सन्तीति वदन्ति तानि आस्तिकानि। चार्वाकदर्शनं, माध्यमिक-योगाचार-सौत्रान्तिक-वैभाषिकभेदचतुष्टयभिन्नं बौद्धदर्शनं जैनदर्शनं च नास्तिकानि। न्यायवैशेषिक साङ्ख्ययोगपूर्वमीमांसावेदान्तदर्शनानि आस्तिकानि। एतैर्दर्शनैः मोक्षस्वरूपं कीदृशमभिसंहितमिति पश्यामः।

नास्तिक दर्शनानि

(i) चार्वाक दर्शनम्

बृहस्पतिमतानुसारी चार्वाकः अस्य मतस्य प्रवर्तकः इत्युच्यते। नीतिशास्त्रं कामशास्त्रं चानुरुन्धानाः चार्वाकाः अर्थकामावेव पुरुषार्थं मन्यन्ते। अर्थकामातिरिक्तं धर्मं चतुर्थंपुरुषार्थलक्षणं मोक्षं च नातिष्ठन्ते। देहातिरिक्तं आत्मानमनभ्युपगच्छन्तः

एते देहपातानन्तरं देहादुत्क्रान्तेन आत्मना अनुभाव्यतया उच्यमान मोक्षानन्दे अथवा अविद्यानिवृत्तौ स्वस्वरूप ब्रह्मत्वप्राप्तिरूपे मोक्षे वा कथं प्रतिपत्तिं कुर्युः ? अतः मोक्षशब्दार्थमेते एवं वर्णयन्ति—स्वातन्त्र्यं मोक्षः, पारतन्त्र्यं बन्धः। कामचार काम भक्षणेन सुखानुभवो भवति। अयमेव मोक्षः। एतेषां सिद्धान्तसङ्ग्रह कारिकासु प्रधानभूता इमे---

यावज्जीवेत् सुखं जीवेत् ऋणं कृत्वा घृतं पिबेत्।
भस्मीभूतस्य देहस्य पुनरागमनं कुतः ॥
अङ्गनालिङ्गनाज्जन्य सुखमेव पुमर्थता।
कण्टकादिव्यथाजन्यं दुःखं निरय उच्यते ॥
देहस्य नाशो मुक्तिस्तु न ज्ञानान्मुक्तिरिष्यते ॥

शरीरपोषणमेव सुखहेतुः। अङ्गनालिङ्गनजन्यं सुखमेव पुरुषार्थः। देहनाश एव मुक्तिः। कण्टकादि वेधनजन्यं दुःखमेव नरकः।

अस्य मतस्य उल्लेखः उपनिषदि, श्रीमद्वाल्मीकिरामायणादिग्रन्थेष्वपि क्रियते। छान्दोग्ये अष्टमाध्याये अष्टमखण्डे वर्णितम्—प्रजापतिः देवराजाय इन्द्राय, असुरराजाय विरोचनाय च प्रथमं शरीरमेव आत्मा इत्युपदिशति। एवं वाल्मीकिरामायणे चित्रकूटे श्रीरामः भरतं पृच्छति—

कच्चिन्न लोकायतिकान् ब्राह्मणांस्तात सेवसे।
अनर्थकुशला ह्येते बालाः पण्डित मानिनः ॥
धर्मशास्त्रेषु मुख्येषु विद्यमानेषु दुर्बुधाः।
बुद्धिमान्वीक्षकीं प्राप्य निरर्थं प्रवदन्ति ते ॥

तत्रैव यथाकथञ्चित् श्रीरामप्रत्यावर्तनोद्युक्तः जाबालिः रामं वदति—

कः कस्य पुरुषो बन्धुः किं कार्यं कस्य केनचित्।
यदेको जायते जन्तुः एक एव विनश्यति ॥
अष्टका पितृदैवत्यमित्ययं प्रसृतो जनः।
अन्नस्योपद्रवं पश्य मृतो हि किमशिष्यति ॥
यदि भुक्तमिहान्येन देहमन्यस्य गच्छति।
दद्यात् प्रवसतः श्राद्धं न तत् पथ्यशनं भवेत् ॥

इत्यादिभिः वचनैर्ज्ञायते चार्वाकानां मते देहोच्छित्तिरेव मोक्ष इति।

(ii) बौद्धदर्शनम्

(क) माध्यमिकाः

बौद्धकदेशिनां माध्यमिकानां मते मोक्षस्वरूपं पश्यामः। एषां स्वमतोपपादन प्रकारः एवम्–साङ्ख्य वैशेषिक नैयायिक वेदान्तिनां अन्येषां च शास्त्रकाराणां इदं

संमतं यत् संसारः दुःखात्मक इति। संसारस्य दुःखात्मकत्व एव एतेषां शास्त्रकाराणां तन्निवृत्त्युपायान्वेषण प्रयत्नः घटितो भवति। एतं दुःखात्मकं संसारं क्षणिकं मन्यन्ते बौद्धाः। तत्र युक्तिमिमामुपस्थापयन्ति—यत् सत् तत् क्षणिकं, यथा जलधरपटलः। जलधरपटलः क्षणिक इति निश्चितम्। क्षणिकः जलधरपटलश्च सन् (भावः)। अतः सर्वे भावाः क्षणिकाः। तस्मात् प्रथमं सर्वं क्षणिकं क्षणिकं इति भावना कर्तव्या। अस्य क्षणिकस्य संसारस्य दुःखात्मकत्वात् सर्वं दुःखं दुःखमिति विभावनीयम्। यद्यपि संसारे कदाचित् किञ्चिद्वस्तु सुखप्रदमिव भाति अनन्तरक्षणे तदेव वस्तु दुःखप्रदमपि भाति। पूर्वक्षणे अनुभूतं सुखं अस्मिन् क्षणे नास्ति। एवं सुखस्य क्षणिकत्वं स्पष्टम्। अतएव क्षणिक सुखोत्पादकं वस्त्वपि क्षणिकमेव सिद्ध्यति। तच्च दुःखात्मकम्। अतः प्रथमं सर्वं क्षणिकं क्षणिकं इति विभाव्य अनन्तरं सर्वं दुःखं दुःखमिति भावनीयम्। अत्र किंवत् दुःखं इति न प्रष्टव्यम्। दृष्टान्तस्य वक्तुमशक्यत्वात्। स्वलक्षणानां क्षणानां क्षणिकतया सालक्षण्याभावात् एतेन सदृशमपरमिति वक्तुमशक्यत्वात्। दृष्टान्त वस्तूपस्थितिकाले दार्ष्टान्तिकस्य नष्टत्वात्। अतः सर्वाणि वस्तूनि स्वलक्षणान्येव। स्वेन असाधारण रूपेण लक्ष्यन्त इति स्वलक्षणानि। तस्मात् स्वलक्षणं स्वलक्षणमिति भावनीयम्। एवं शून्यं शून्यमित्यपि भावनीयम्। शुक्तौ रजतभ्रमेण प्रवृत्तः तत्र गतः रजतमपश्यन् स्वप्ने अथवा जागरणे इदं रजतादि मया न दृष्टमिति निषेधमनुसन्धत्ते। अत्र कारकाद्यन्वितक्रियायां नञर्थः अन्वितो भवति। तस्मात् दर्शनक्रिया, तत्कर्ता द्रष्टा, तत्कर्मादिकं दृश्यं च निषिद्धं भवति। दृश्यं च धर्मी, धर्मः, तयोः सम्बन्धश्च इति त्रिविधमप्यविशेषान्निषिद्धं भवति। तथा च धर्मिभूतायाः शुक्तेः, तद्धर्मस्य इदन्तायाः रजतत्वस्य च निषेधात् रजतत्वस्येव शुक्त्यादीनामप्यसत्यत्वमिति शून्यवादे पर्यवसानम्। अतः सदसदुभयानुभयात्मकचतुष्कोटि विनिर्मुक्तं शून्यमेव तत्त्वम्। पूर्वोक्त भावना चतुष्टयवशात् निखिलवासनानिवृत्तिः। वासनानिवृत्तौ परिनिर्वाणं शून्यरूपं सेत्स्यति। इदं शून्यरूपं परिनिर्वाणमेव मोक्ष इति माध्यमिकाः॥

(ख) योगाचाराः

एते पूर्वोक्तं भावनाचतुष्टयमङ्गीकुर्वन्ति। तथा बाह्यार्थस्य शून्यतामपि। परं तु आंतरस्य भावनादेः शून्यत्वं नाभ्युपगच्छन्ति। तथाऽभ्युपगमे जगदान्ध्यमेव प्रसज्येत। अतः स्वयं वेदनमङ्गीकार्यम्। एतदर्थं बुद्धिरप्यङ्गीकार्या। एतया बुद्ध्या ग्राह्यः कश्चन बाह्यार्थस्तु नास्ति। विकल्पासहत्त्वात्। किं बाह्योऽर्थः उत्पन्नः सन् ग्राह्यो भवति अथवा अनुत्पन्नः? उत्पन्नस्य स्थित्यभावात् न पूर्वः। अनुत्पन्नस्य ग्रहणायोगात् न अपरः। अतः बुद्धिः स्वयमेव स्वात्मरूपप्रकाशिका, प्रकाशवत्। तदुक्तम्—

नान्योऽनुभाव्यो बुद्ध्याऽस्ति तस्या नानुभवोऽपरः।
ग्राह्यग्राहक वैधुर्यात् स्वयं सैव प्रकाशते॥

ग्राह्यग्राहकयोश्च अभेद एव। आत्मा ग्राह्यः ग्राहकेण ज्ञानेन गृह्यते। ग्राह्यः आत्मा ग्राहकं ज्ञानं द्वयमपि ज्ञानमेव। तद्वत् नीलादीनामर्थानां बुद्ध्या ग्राह्यत्वात् बुद्धिः अर्थश्च अभिन्ना एव। यश्चायं ग्राह्यग्राहकाणां पृथगवभासः सः भ्रान्तिमूलकः। अत्र निमित्तं अनाद्यविच्छिन्नप्रवाहा भेदवासनैव, चन्द्रमसि द्वित्वावभास इव। यथोक्तम्–

सहोपलम्भनियमादभेदो नीलतद्धियोः।
भेदश्च भ्रान्ति विज्ञानैः दृश्येतेन्दाविवाद्वये ॥
अविभागोऽपि बुद्ध्यात्मा विपर्यासित दर्शनैः।
ग्राह्यग्राहक संवित्ति भेदवानिव लक्ष्यते ॥

तस्माद्बुद्धिरेव अनादिवासनावशात् अनेकाकारा अवभासते। ततश्च पूर्वोक्तभावना प्रकर्षात् अखिल वासनोच्छेदे विविधविषयाकारः विगलितो भवति। ततः विशुद्ध विज्ञानोदयो भवति। अयमेव मोक्षः॥

(ग) सौत्रान्तिकाः

बाह्यं वस्तुजातं नास्ति इति यदुक्तं तदयुक्तम्। यत्तु सहोपलम्भनियमप्रमाणं प्रदर्शितं तन्न समीचीनम्। तस्य अप्रयोजकत्वात्। ज्ञानं अन्तर्मुखतया भासते; ज्ञेयं च बहिर्मुखतया अनुमीयते इति ज्ञानं अनुमितं ज्ञेयं च भेदेनैव भासेते। एकदेशत्व- एक कालत्वलक्षण सहत्वनियमस्य अत्र असम्भवात्। किं च नीलाद्यर्थस्य ज्ञानाकारत्वे 'अहं' इत्येव प्रतिभासः स्यात्। तथा तु न भवति। इदमित्येव प्रतिपत्तिः भवति। यदुक्तं ज्ञानस्वरूपोऽपि नीलाकारः भ्रान्त्या बहिर्वदवभासत इति तदयुक्तम्। बाह्यार्थाभावे तद्व्युत्पत्तिरहिततया बाह्यार्थवत् इत्युपमानोक्तेरयुक्तत्वात्। अतः अयमभेदसाधको हेतुरप्रयोजकः। अतः बाह्यार्थाः सन्त्येव। तदिदं सर्वं दुःखं दुःखायतनं दुःखसाधनं चेति भावना कर्तव्या। तत्र दुःखं प्रसिद्धम्। सर्वेषां वस्तूनां दुःखसाधनत्वात् तानि दुःखायतनानि। एतान्येव दुःखसाधनानि सन्ति। तन्निरोधोपायः तत्त्वज्ञानं सम्पादनीयम्। ज्ञानेन जायमानः निरोधः अथवा तदनन्तरं उत्पद्यमानं विमलज्ञानं मुक्तिः।

(घ) वैभाषिकाः

सौत्रान्तिकानां विज्ञेयत्वानुमानवादः अनुपपन्नः। तैस्तु प्रात्यक्षिकः कोऽप्यर्थः नाङ्गीक्रियते। अनुमाने व्याप्तिग्रहः आवश्यकः। प्रत्यक्षसिद्धस्यार्थस्याभावे व्याप्तिग्रहः कथं भवेत्। यत्र धूमः तत्राग्निरिति व्याप्तावुच्यमानायां कथमियं ज्ञातुं शक्या इत्याशङ्का प्रत्यक्ष महानस रूपार्थोदाहरणेन निवार्यते। महानसे हि धूमाग्न्योः प्रत्यक्षज्ञानेन व्याप्तिः सुगृहीता भवति। सौत्रान्तिकमते क्वाप्यर्थस्य प्रत्यक्षज्ञानाभावेन व्याप्तिज्ञानासम्भवः। व्याप्तिज्ञानाभावेन अनुमान प्रवृत्त्यनुपपत्तिः, सकल लोकप्रसिद्ध प्रत्यक्षानुभवविरोधश्च। अतः बाह्यार्थः अस्त्येव। स च द्विविधः। ग्राह्यः अध्यवसेयश्च। इन्द्रियसंयोगानन्तरं सद्य एव इदं किञ्चित् इति निर्विकल्पकज्ञाने विषयीभूतः देव-

दत्तादिरर्थः ग्राह्यः। स एव पश्चात् ब्राह्मणोऽयं श्यामोऽयमित्येवं सविकल्पकज्ञाने विषयीभूतः ग्राह्यः। एतयोः निर्विकल्पकसविकल्पकयोर्मध्ये निर्विकल्पकमेव प्रमाणं, कल्पनारहितत्वात्। सविकल्पकमप्रमाणं कल्पनाज्ञानत्वात्। इमं विवेकमनुप्राप्य द्वादशायतनपूजा कर्तव्या। सैव श्रेयस्करी। तदुक्तम्—

अर्थानुपार्ज्य बहुशः द्वादशायतनानि वै।
परितः पूजनीयानि किमन्यैरिह पूजितैः॥

इन्द्रियाणां पूजनं च अप्रतिषिद्ध तत्तद्योग्यविषय सेवनद्वारा भवति। द्वादशायतनं च—

ज्ञानेन्द्रियाणि पञ्चैव तथा कर्मेन्द्रियाणि च।
मनो बुद्धिरिति प्रोक्तं द्वादशायतनं बुधैः॥

अनया पूजया रागादि सन्तानवासनोच्छेदो भवति। स एव मुक्तिः।

रागादि ज्ञान सन्तान वासनोच्छेद सम्भवा।
चतुर्णामपि बौद्धानां मुक्तिरेषा प्रकीर्तिता॥

अवैदिकत्वेऽप्येतेषां क्षणभङ्गनैरात्म्यवादानामपि प्रामाण्यं स्वीकृतमास्तिकैः। रागादिदोषवर्जनस्य सर्वदर्शनानां परमोद्देश्यत्वात्। तदुक्तं तन्त्रवार्तिके, 'विज्ञानमात्रक्षणभङ्गनैरात्म्यवादानामपि उपनिषत्प्रभवत्वं विषयेष्वात्यन्तिकं रागं विनिवर्तयितुमित्युपपन्नं सर्वेषां प्रामाण्यम्' इति।

(iii) जैनदर्शनम्

जैनाः बौद्धं क्षणिकं मतं नानुमन्यन्ते। यदि कश्चित् स्थिरः आत्मा नास्थीयेत तर्हि लौकिकालौकिक फलसम्पादने न कस्यचित् प्रवृत्तिर्भवेत्। नह्येतत् सम्भवति अन्यः करोति अन्यो भुङ्क्त इति—

मयि नष्टेऽपि मत्तोऽन्या काचिज्ज्ञप्तिरवस्थिता।
इति तत्प्राप्तये यत्नः कस्यापि न भविष्यति॥

अनुभवस्त्वेवमस्ति यत् योऽहं प्राक् कर्म अकरवं सोऽहमिदानीं तत्फलं भुञ्ज इति। तस्मात् पूर्वापरकालानुयायी स्थायी कश्चनात्मा अवश्यमास्थेयः। किञ्च क्षणिकत्वपक्षे ज्ञानकाले ज्ञेयस्य असत्त्वेन, ज्ञेयकाले ज्ञानस्य असत्त्वेन च ग्राह्यग्राहकभावः अनुपपन्नः भवति। अतः ग्राहकात्मवत् ग्राह्यः अर्थोऽपि स्थायी अभ्युपगन्तव्यः। एतादृशस्थायिपदार्थानां भोक्ता अस्मिन् संसारे बहून् क्लेशाननुभवतीति प्रत्यक्षसिद्धम्। एष क्लेशः कथमपि दूरीकर्तव्य इति प्रायः सर्वेषां मतिरुदेति। तदर्थं—

सर्वज्ञः जितरागादिदोषः त्रैलोक्यपूजितः।
यथास्थितार्थवादी च देवोऽर्हन् परमेश्वरः॥

शरणतया वरणीयः। संयग्दर्शन संयग्ज्ञान संयक्चारित्र रूपं त्रितयं मोक्षमार्गः। तत्त्वार्थे विपरीताभिनिवेशराहित्यरूपं श्रद्धानं संयग्दर्शनम्। श्रद्धानं-श्रद्धा भावे ल्युट्। येन स्वभावेन जीवादयः व्यवस्थिताः तेन स्वभावेन मोहसंशयरहितत्वेन अवगमः संयग्ज्ञानम्। संस्कारकारणकर्मोच्छित्तौ उद्यतस्य पापदूरीकरणकारणक्रियानिवृत्तिः संयक्चारित्रम्। एतानि संयग्दर्शन ज्ञान चारित्राणि मिलितानि मोक्षकारणम्। न प्रत्येकम्। मिथ्यादर्शनादीनां वन्धहेतूनां निरोधे अभिनवकर्माभावः। कर्मणो निरसनादात्यन्तिककर्ममोक्षणं मोक्षः। 'तदनन्तरमूर्ध्वं गच्छन्त्यालोकान्तात्'। कर्मरहितः आत्मा अपेतमृत्तिकाऽलाबुवत् असङ्गः ऊर्ध्वं गच्छति। कर्मवन्धरूपकारणाभावात् अधोगतिरस्य नास्ति। सततमूर्ध्वमेव गच्छन्नस्ति। एवं सततोर्ध्वगमनमेव मोक्षः। कैश्चिदार्हतैः अर्हद्देहानुप्रवेशः मोक्षः इत्यप्युच्यते। एतेषां दिगम्वराणां मते स्त्रीणां मोक्षो नास्ति। तासां पुंजन्मग्रहणोत्तरमेव मोक्षः।

आस्तिक दर्शनानि

(i) न्यायदर्शनम्

एतद्दर्शनप्रवर्तकः गौतमः अक्षपादापरनामा अनुमानसिद्धमीश्वरमभ्युपगम्य अज्ञानादिगन्धरहितेन तेन ईश्वरेण प्रोक्तत्वात् श्रुतेश्च प्रामाण्यमङ्गीकरोति। एतन्मतानुसारेण प्रतिशरीरं भिन्नाः असङ्ख्याकाः ज्ञानवन्तः जीवात्मानः सन्ति। ते च विभवः नित्याश्च। एते स्वीयपूर्वकर्मानुसारेण सुख-दुःखादि भोगायतनेषु शरीरेषु प्रविष्टाः सुखदुःखादिकं भुञ्जानाः प्रेत्यभावमनुभवन्तो वर्तन्ते। प्रेत्यभावश्च मृत्वा पुनर्जन्म। एते जीवात्मानः प्रमाणप्रमेयेत्यादितत्त्वज्ञानान्निःश्रेयसमधिगच्छन्ति। तदुक्तं 'प्रमाण प्रमेय संशय प्रयोजन दृष्टान्त सिद्धान्तावयव तर्क निर्णय वाद जल्प वितण्डा हेत्वाभास छल जाति निग्रह स्थानानां तत्त्वज्ञानान्निःश्रेयसाधिगमः' इति।

तत्त्वज्ञानात् 'दुःख जन्म प्रवृत्ति दोष मिथ्याज्ञानानां उत्तरोत्तरापाये तदनन्तरापायादपवर्गः' भवति। कश्चित् भाग्यवान् पुरुषः आचार्योपदेशेन सर्वमिदं दुःखायतनं पश्यति। तदा एतत्सर्वं हेयत्वेन बुद्ध्वा तत्कारणभूतमविद्यादि निवर्तयितुमिच्छति। तन्निवृत्त्युपायश्च तत्त्वज्ञानम्। न्यायशास्त्रोक्तं प्रमेयं भावयतः तत्त्वज्ञानं जायते। तत्त्वज्ञानादनात्मनि देहादावात्मबुद्धिरूपमिथ्याज्ञानं अपैति। मिथ्याज्ञानापाये दोषा अपयान्ति। दोषापाये प्रवृत्तिरपैति। प्रवृत्त्यपाये जन्मापैति। जन्मापाये दुःखमत्यन्तं निवर्तते। आत्यन्तिकी दुःखनिवृत्तिः अर्थात् अपुनरुद्भवं दुःखनिवृत्तिः अपवर्गः। एवं आत्यन्तिक दुःखनिवृत्तिरेव मुक्तिः इति नैयायिकाः॥

सर्ववैशेषिकगुणोच्छेदः मोक्ष इति वैशेषिकाः कणभुङ्मतानुसारिणः॥

(ii) साङ्ख्यदर्शनम्

परिणामवादिनः साङ्ख्याः। सतः द्रव्यस्य अवस्थान्तरापत्तिः परिणामः।

सर्वाणि प्रकृत्यादीनि तत्त्वानि तत्तत्कार्यरूपेण परिणमन्त इत्येतेषां मतम्। प्रधान महदहङ्कार पञ्चतन्मात्ररूपाणि अष्टौ तत्त्वानि प्रकृतिशब्देनोच्यन्ते। तत्र सात्त्विका दहङ्कारात् चक्षुःश्रोत्रघ्राण रसनात्वगाख्यानि पञ्च बुद्धीन्द्रियाणि, वाक्पाणिपाद पायूपस्थाख्यानि पञ्च कर्मेन्द्रियाणि, उभयात्मकमिन्द्रियं मनश्चेति एकादशेन्द्रियाणि जायन्ते। शब्द स्पर्श रूप रस गन्धतन्मात्रेभ्यः आकाश वायु तेजोऽप् पृथिव्याख्यानि पञ्चमहाभूतान्युत्पद्यन्ते। एवं चतुर्विंशति तत्त्वानि। पञ्चविंशं तत्त्वं पुरुषः। अयं कूटस्थनित्यः, अपरिणामी, न कस्यापि प्रकृतिः नापि विकृतिः। तदुक्तम्—

मूलप्रकृति रविकृतिः महदाद्याः प्रकृति विकृतयः सप्त।
षोडशकस्तु विकारः न प्रकृतिः न विकृतिः पुरुषः॥ सांख्य का० ५६।

अयं पुरुषः पुष्करपलाशवन्निर्लेपः। कथमचेतना प्रकृतिः कार्ये व्याप्रियेत इति न शङ्क्यम्। यथा वत्सविवृद्ध्यर्थमचेतनं क्षीरं प्रवर्तते, यथा च जलमचेतनं लोकोपकाराय प्रवर्तते तथा प्रकृतिरचेतनाऽपि कार्ये व्याप्रियते। तदुक्तम्—

'अचेतनत्वेऽपि चेष्टितं प्रधानस्य' सांख्य सू० ५९ इति,
वत्सविवृद्धि निमित्तं क्षीरस्य यथा प्रवृत्तिरज्ञस्य। सांख्य का० ५७ इति च।

अयमुक्तविधः पुरुषः वस्तुतः न किञ्चित् करोति। बुद्धौ उत्पद्यमान. विकाराः पुरुषे प्रतिफलन्ति। एतावता पुरुषः संसरतीव भाति। बन्धश्च प्रकृतेरेव, ससङ्गत्वात्। बद्धस्यैव मोक्षः भवितुमर्हति। तस्मान्मोक्षश्च प्रकृतेरेव। निर्लेपस्य असङ्गस्य पुरुषस्य बन्धोऽपि नास्ति, अतएव मुक्तिरपि नास्ति। प्रकृतेश्च बन्धः एवं भवति। धर्मवैराग्यै-श्वर्याधर्माज्ञानावैराग्यानैश्वर्यैः सप्तभी रूपैः स्वधर्मैः दुःखहेतुभिः प्रकृतिरात्मानं दुःखेन बध्नाति, यथा वा कोशकारकृमिः स्वनिर्मितेनावासेनात्मानं बध्नाति। अविवेकेन प्रकृति-पुरुषयोः संयोगो भवति। तेन संयोगेन प्राकृतदुःखमुत्पद्यते। तच्च दुःखं पुरुषे प्रतिबिम्बितं भवति। स एव दुःखभोगः, दुःखसम्बन्धः। तस्य निवृत्तिरेव मोक्षः। सृष्टि-निवृत्तिरेव मोक्ष इति यावत्। प्रधानपुरुषयोरौदासीन्यं-परस्पर वियोग एव अपवर्गः। सूत्रं च—

द्वयोरेकतरस्य वा औदासीन्यमपवर्गः। सा० सू० ६५

वस्तुतस्तु न कश्चित् पुरुषो बद्ध्यते, न कश्चिन्मुच्यते, प्रकृतिरेव तु नानाश्रया सती बद्ध्यते—संसरति, मुच्यते च। बन्धमोक्षसंसाराः पुरुषे उपचर्यन्ते। भोगापवर्गौ प्रकृतिगतावेव, विवेकाग्रहात् एवं पुरुषे उपचर्येते। विवेकज्ञाने सञ्जाते मोक्षो भवति। भोगापवर्गरूपसृष्टिः पुनः न भवति। अयमेव मोक्षः।

स्वात्मानन्दानुभवनं कैवल्यमिति केचन साङ्ख्याः प्राहुः। बहूनां तु मतम्—

मुक्तिर्नामात्र कैवल्यं मतं चिन्मात्र लक्षणम्।
व्यावर्त्यते मात्रचाऽत्र स्वात्म संवेदनाऽपि हि॥

मानमेयरहस्य श्लोक वार्तिकम्।

साङ्ख्यानां मते अयमपि कश्चिद्विशेषः यदेते ईश्वरं नाभ्युपगच्छन्ति। कृतं कर्मैव फलं ददातीति अन्यथासिद्ध ईश्वरः। तदुक्तम्—

नेश्वराधिष्ठिते फलनिष्पत्तिः, कर्मणा तत्सिद्धेः। सां० सू० ६२.

अतः ईश्वरकृपया मोक्षो न भवति। पूर्वोक्त विवेक ज्ञानादेव भवति। स च प्रकृति-पुरुषयोः परस्पर वियोग एव; न तु आनन्दादिरूपः॥

(iii) पातञ्जलदर्शनम् (योगः)

योगदर्शनं साङ्ख्यस्य पूरकं दर्शनमिति वक्तुमुचितम्। साङ्ख्य दर्शन संमतं सर्वं तत्त्वमस्याप्यभिमतम्। ईश्वराभिधमेकमधिकं तत्त्वमभ्युपयत् एतन्मतं साङ्ख्यात् भिन्नतया व्यपदिश्यते। योगदर्शनसम्मतः ईश्वरः पुरुषविशेष एव। तदुक्तम्—

'क्लेशकर्म विपाकाशयैरपरामृष्टः पुरुषविशेष ईश्वरः। योगसूत्रम् १.२४.

अविद्यादि क्लेशैः विहितनिषिद्धव्यामिश्ररूपकर्मभिः, एतत्कर्मफलैः वासनाख्य संस्कारैश्च त्रिष्वपि कालेष्वसंस्पृष्टः, अन्येभ्यः पुरुषेभ्यो विशिष्टः, इच्छामात्रेण सकल जगदुद्धरणक्षमः ईश्वरः। अस्मिन्नीश्वरे सर्वज्ञत्वं परां काष्ठां प्राप्तम्। पूर्वेषां ब्रह्मादीनामपि स गुरुः। तस्य वाचकः शब्दः प्रणवः। अस्य प्रणवस्य यथावदुच्चारणेन, अर्थाज्जपेन, तद्वाच्यस्य ईश्वरस्य पुनः पुनश्चेतसि भावनेन एकाग्रता-समाधिः सिद्ध्यति। अनेन जपेन अनया भावनया च योगिनः चेतना विषयप्रातिकूल्येन स्वान्तःकरणा-भिमुखमञ्चति। अनेन चित्तं क्लेशवासनारहितं स्थितिप्रवाहयोग्यं च भवति। अनन्तरं कदाचिदपि विपर्ययमभजमानां ऋतम्भरां प्रज्ञां प्राप्नोति। अस्यां प्रज्ञायां संस्कारान्तरगन्धस्याप्यवकाशो न विद्यते। अत्रैव योगः-चित्तवृत्तिनिरोधः कर्तुं शक्यः। अस्य च 'यमनियमासनप्राणायामप्रत्याहारधारणाध्यानसमाधयः' अष्टौ अङ्गानि सन्ति। समाधिः अङ्गी, प्राणायामादीन्यङ्गानि। एतेषामङ्गानामनु-ष्ठानेन समाधि प्रतिपक्ष क्लेशादीनां प्रक्षयो भवति। क्लेशादिषु प्रक्षीणेषु कायस्य मनोवदनुत्तमो गतिलाभः, कायनिरपेक्षाणामिन्द्रियाणां अभिमत देशकाल विषया-पेक्ष वृत्तिलाभः, प्रकृति विकारेषु सर्वेषु वशित्वं, सर्वभावाधिष्ठातृत्वं आदिसिद्धयः सिद्ध्यन्ति। एतेषां सत्त्वादि गुणत्रय परिणाम भूतानां भावानां धर्मतः भेदेन ज्ञानरूपं सर्वज्ञातृत्वं च सिद्ध्यति। तदुक्तं 'विशोका वा ज्योतिष्मती' (पा० यो० सू० १३६) इति। एताभिः सिद्धिभिः पुरुषः सर्वतः विरज्यते। विरज्यमानस्य तस्य क्लेशबीजानि निर्दग्धशालिबीजकल्पानि प्रसवसामर्थ्यविधुराणि मनसा सार्धं प्रत्यस्तं गच्छन्ति।

एवं क्लेशबीजानि, कर्माशयानि विलीयन्ते। तदा विवेकख्यातिः निर्बाधा समुल्लसति। विवेकख्यातिश्च प्रकृतिपुरुषयोः भेदेन साक्षात्कारः। अनेन साक्षात्कारेण शरीरेन्द्रियाणां स्वकारणे प्रधाने लयो भवति। एतदेव प्रकृतेः कैवल्यम्। आत्मनः औपाधिकरूपं परित्यज्य मूलस्वरूपेण जपायोगापाये स्फटिकस्य स्वरूपप्रतिष्ठावत्,

यदवस्थानं तत् पुरुषस्य कैवल्यम् । तदनन्तरं तस्य न कदाऽपि पुनः बुद्धिसत्त्वादि सम्बन्धो भवति । तदुक्तं पतञ्जलिना—

'पुरुषार्थशून्यानां गुणानां प्रतिप्रसवः कैवल्यम् स्वरूपप्रतिष्ठा वा चितिशक्तिः ।' (पात० यो० सू० ४·३४) इति ।

इदमुक्तं भवति-संसारः दुःखमयः । प्रधानपुरुषसंयोगः अस्य हेयस्य दुःखमयस्य संसारस्य भोगे हेतुः । तस्य आत्यन्तिकी निवृत्तिः हानम् । सम्यग्दर्शनेन इदं हानं भवति । प्रधानस्य च मूलस्वरूपेणावस्थानं मोक्षः इति ।

(iv) पूर्वमीमांसा

महर्षिणा जैमिनिना श्रुतिवाक्यानां यथावदर्थविबोधाय प्रवर्तिते मीमांसाशास्त्रे द्वादशाध्यायेषु अनेके न्याया व्युदपादिषत । तत्र प्रसङ्गात् जीवात्मपरमात्ममोक्षविषये स्वमतं सूचितम् । जैमिनिसूत्राणां भाष्यकारः शबरस्वामी, वार्तिककारः कुमारिलभट्टः आदिजैमिन्यनन्तरकालिकाः मीमांसकपरिवृढाः अपि स्वस्वग्रन्थेषु एतद्विषये स्वस्वाभिप्रायमाविष्चक्रुः । एते शरीरातिरिक्तमात्मानमभ्युपगच्छन्ति । शरीरातिरिक्तनित्यात्मानङ्गीकारे ज्योतिष्टोमादिकर्मणां फलत्वेन श्रुतानां स्वर्गादीनां भोक्तुरभावात् ज्योतिष्टोमादिकर्मविधायकं शास्त्रं व्यर्थं सत् अप्रमाणं स्यात् । अतः कर्मानुष्ठातुः शरीरे नष्टेऽपि तच्छरीरगतः अहमर्थभूतः नित्यः आत्मा कश्चिदस्ति, यः कालान्तरभावि स्वर्गादिफलमनुभोक्ष्यत इत्यभ्युपगन्तव्यम् । एते चात्मानः असङ्ख्याकाः । ज्ञानैकाकारतया समाः । सर्वेषामात्मनां ज्ञानाकारत्वमादायैव उपनिषत्सु ऐकात्म्यव्यवहारः । अयं विषयः अपूर्वाधिकरणवार्तिके 'चैतन्यात्मकत्वाद्यविभागाच्च उपनिषत्स्वैकात्म्यव्यवहार' इति प्रतिपादितः । एतेषामात्मनां स्वाभाविकी सर्वकामावाप्तियोग्यता विद्यते । तन्त्रवार्तिके अपूर्वाधिकरणे उक्तम्—

सर्वावाप्तिसमर्थो वा प्रकृत्यात्मा सदेष्यते ।
कश्चित्तु प्रतिबन्धोऽस्य कर्मभिस्सोऽपनीयते ।। इति ।

अस्यात्मनः शरीरसम्बन्धः बन्धः, तदभावो मोक्षः । कर्मणा शरीराण्युद्भवन्ति । तेषां विहितकाले ध्वंसो भवति । अनुद्भूतानां च शरीराणां प्रागभावो वर्तते । अयं ध्वंसः प्रागभावश्च मोक्षशब्दवाच्यौ । बन्धश्च कर्मनिमित्तः । स च बन्धः कर्मक्षयादेव नश्यति । स च कर्मक्षयः यो देहाद्विविक्तमनन्तमजरमदुःखमात्मानं जानाति तस्य देहसंप्रयोगविरक्तस्य फलोपभोगेन भविष्यति । ततश्च तन्निमित्ते शरीरे पतिते अनागतानां च कर्मणामननुष्ठानादेव असत्त्वाद्देहान्तरानुत्पत्तेः अत्यन्तासम्बन्धः शरीरेण भवति । स एव च कीर्त्यते मोक्ष इति अपवर्ग इति च । श्रुतं च 'स सर्वांश्च लोकानाप्नोति तरति शोकमात्मवित्' इति । अत्र आत्मविदित्युक्तमात्मवेदनं किं केवलजीवात्मवेदनं अथवा अन्तर्यामिपर्यन्तात्मवेदनं इति विचारे केवलं कर्मकाण्डप्रामाण्यवादिनः

निरीश्वरमीमांसकाः परलोकसाधनेषु कर्मसु देहातिरिक्तात्मज्ञानं विना प्रवृत्त्यसंभवात् जीवात्मज्ञानमेव विवक्षितमित्याहुः । सेश्वरमीमांसकास्तु निखिलजगदेककारणं सर्वान्तर्यामिणं सर्वशरीरं परमात्मानमभ्युपगच्छन्तीति अन्तर्यामिपर्यन्तात्मज्ञानमेव विवक्षितमिति प्राहुः । यतः कुमारिलभट्टः व्याकरणाधिकरणे 'य आत्मा अपहृत पाप्मा' इत्यादि छान्दोग्यवाक्यमुपादत्ते, 'स खल्वेवं वर्तयन् यावदायुषम्' इति तस्या एव उपनिषदः समाप्तिवाक्यं निर्दिशति, 'ब्रह्मलोकमभिसंपद्यत' इत्यस्य वाक्यस्य 'ब्रह्मैव लोकः ब्रह्मलोकः' इत्यर्थमभिप्रेत्य परमात्मप्राप्त्यवस्थाफलपदं प्रयुङ्क्ते, अतः देहातिरिक्तपरमात्मात्मकज्ञानरूपनित्यस्वस्वरूपज्ञानिनः जीवात्मनः अपुनरावृत्त्यात्मक परमात्मप्राप्तिरेव मोक्ष इति कुमारिलभट्टानां मतमिति स्पष्टम् ।

मीमांसकाः मुक्तानां क्षेत्रज्ञानां ब्रह्मणा सहैकत्वं मुक्तिरिति पक्षं न सहन्ते । तथा च शास्त्रदीपिकायामात्मवाद उक्तम्—'ये त्वात्मैकत्ववादाः श्रुतिषु स्मृतिषु पुराणेषु वा ते 'निरञ्जनः परमं साम्यमुपैति, मम साधर्म्यमागताः, उत्तमः पुरुषस्त्वन्यः' इत्यादिभिरात्मभेदवचनैः, प्रत्यक्षादिभिश्च विरोधात् न एकान्ततः शक्नुवन्ति आत्मैकत्वं निश्चाययितुम्' इति ।

जरन्मीमांसकाः केचित् ज्योतिष्टोमादिसाध्यः स्वर्ग एव मोक्ष इत्यातिष्ठन्ते । भाट्टैकदेशिनः चित्तेन स्वात्मसौख्यानुभूतिं मोक्षं सङ्गिरन्ते । प्रभाकरगुरुस्तु दृषत्तुल्य इत्यभिदधाति ॥

(v) वेदान्तदर्शनम्

(क) अद्वैतम्

भगवत्पादैः परिवर्धिते अद्वैतसिद्धान्ते आत्मा केवलज्ञानस्वरूपः । अस्मिन् स्वरूपान्तर्गतः अनन्तर्गतो वा न कश्चन गुणो विद्यते । निर्गुण एवात्मा । अयं च विभुः । चिद्रूपः । निर्विशेषः । कथमपि ईदृशः तादृशः इति वक्तुं न शक्यः । अयं न अहमर्थभूतः । अयमेव अन्तःकरणतत्संस्कारावच्छिन्नज्ञानोपाधिविशिष्टः जीव इत्यभिधीयते । अस्मिन् कर्तृत्वमस्ति । परं तु तत्कर्तृत्वमौपाधिकम् । भोक्तृत्वमप्यौपाधिकमस्मिन् विद्यते । आत्मा अचिन्त्यत्वान्मनसोऽप्यगोचरः । ब्रह्मपदवाच्यः । अस्मिन् अविद्यामायादिपदवाच्या असती च शक्तिर्विद्यते । पारमार्थिक सत्यत्वाभावादसती, व्यावहारिकसत्यत्वात् सतीति चोच्यते । इयं चाविद्या शुद्धचितः आत्मनः स्वसम्बन्धेन जीवत्वमीश्वरत्वं च प्रदर्शयति । अविद्या तत्सम्बन्धश्च अनादिरेव स्वीक्रियते । तथा च शुद्धचित्, अविद्या, तत्सम्बन्धः, जीवत्वं, ईश्वरत्वं, तयोर्भेदः इत्येते षट्पदार्थाः अनादयः । तदुक्तम्—

जीव ईशो विशुद्धा चित् तथा जीवेशयोर्भिदा ।
अविद्या तच्चितोर्योगः षडस्माकमनादयः ॥ इति ।

इदमेवात्मतत्त्वं अनाद्यनिर्वचनीय सदसदनुभयात्मकाविद्योपहितं नामरूप प्रपञ्चाख्यभेदेन विवर्तते। अस्मिन्नेव प्रपञ्चे अविद्योपहित आत्मा आत्मानं सुखिनं दुःखिनं च पश्यति। अयमेव आत्मनः संसार इत्युच्यते। अस्य च दुःखभूयिष्ठत्वात् अस्मान्मुक्तिं वाञ्छत्यात्मा। अविद्यानिवृत्तावेव तत्कल्पित संसारस्य निवृत्तिः। तस्या अविद्याया निवृत्तिः तत्त्वमस्यादिवाक्यजन्यविद्यया भवेत्। अविद्यानिवृत्तौ निरतिशयानन्दात्मलाभरूप पुरुषार्थः सेत्स्यति। तथा च स्मर्यते—'आत्मलाभान्न परं विद्यत' इति। अतः तत् त्वमसीति तत् त्वं पदार्थं श्रवण मनन भावनाबलोत्पन्नेन साक्षात्कारेण अनाद्यविद्यानिवृत्तो सच्चिदानन्दैकरस ब्रह्माविर्भावः संपत्स्यते। अयमेव मोक्ष इत्यद्वैतिनां मतम्॥

(ख) द्वैतम्

श्रीमदानन्दतीर्थोपज्ञे अस्मिन् द्वैतसिद्धान्ते जीवाः स्वतन्त्रात् निर्दोषात् कल्याणगुणाकरात् नारायणाभिधानात् ब्रह्मणः सर्वथा भिन्नाः अस्वतन्त्राः नित्याः। एते च जीवात्मानः नित्यमुक्ताः, मुक्तियोग्याः, मुक्त्ययोग्या इति त्रिविधाः। भगवान् सेव्यः, जीवाः सेवकाः। सा च सेवा त्रिविधा, नारायणायुधादीनामङ्कनं, पुत्रादीनां केशवादिनाम्ना व्यवहारः, दशविधभजनं चेति। प्रपञ्चश्च सत्यः। जीवा ईश्वराद्भिन्नाः, जडद्रव्याद्भिन्नाः, जीवाः परस्परं भिन्नाः। ईश्वरात् जडद्रव्यं भिन्नम्। जडद्रव्यं परस्परं भिन्नमिति भेदपञ्चकमेतैरभ्युपगम्यते। जीवादयः तद्भेदश्च सत्याः। बन्धः, मोक्षः, सुखं, दुःखं, आवृत्तिः, ज्योतिः इत्येतत् सर्वं विष्णोरधीनम्। इदं सर्वोत्तमत्वेन च सेव्यत्वेन रूपेण जायमानं परमात्मज्ञानमुपाश्रित्य परमात्मसादृश्यं प्राप्ता मुक्ताः सर्गेऽपि ब्रह्मादिषु देवेषु उत्पद्यमानेष्वपि नोत्पद्यन्ते। तथा प्रलये दुःखानि नानुभवन्ति। पुनः नावर्तन्ते। तदुक्तं भगवता—

> इदं ज्ञानमुपाश्रित्य मम साधर्म्यमागताः।
> सर्गेऽपि नोपजायन्ते प्रलये न व्यथन्ति च॥ इति।

अयं च मोक्षः सर्वपुरुषार्थोत्तमः।

> धर्मार्थकामास्सर्वेऽपि न नित्या मोक्ष एव हि।
> नित्यस्तस्मात्तदर्थाय यतेत मतिमान्नरः॥

इति भाल्लवेयश्रुतिरपि। अयं च मोक्षः विष्णुप्रसादमन्तरेण न लभ्यते। विष्णोः प्रसादेन तं सर्वगुणपूर्णं ज्ञात्वा संसारवर्जितः, दुःखसामान्यरहितः, आनन्दभुक् तत्समीपे मोदते। मध्वमते इदमेव मोक्षस्वरूपम्। जीवानां मोक्षसाधनप्रयत्नतारतम्यानुसारेण साध्यमोक्षानन्देऽपि तारतम्यं आचक्षन्ते।

(ग) विशिष्टाद्वैतम्

श्रीनाथमुन्युपज्ञं, श्रीयामुनेय प्रबन्धैः बहुभिरुपचितं, यतीन्द्रैः श्रीरामानुजमुनिभिः संयक् त्रातं, कवितार्किकसिंहैः सर्वतन्त्रस्वतन्त्रैः श्रीमद्वेदान्तदेशिकैः सर्वोपप्लवेभ्यः

संरक्ष्य संवर्धितं विशिष्टाद्वैतदर्शनम् । अस्मिन् दर्शने चित्, अचित्, ईश्वर इति तत्त्वत्रयमभ्युपगम्यते । चिच्च जीवात्मा । अयं बाह्येन्द्रियेभ्यः तथा मनःप्रणिधीभ्योऽन्यः । अहंप्रत्ययगोचरः । ज्ञातृत्वं चास्य स्वभावः । अयं स्वयंप्रकाशः, नित्यः, असङ्ख्याकः । परस्परं भिन्नः । ईश्वरादचिद्द्रव्याच्च भिन्नः । ज्ञानाकारत्वेन साम्यमेष्वस्ति । अयमात्मा स्वतस्सुखी ।

एते जीवाः नित्यमुक्तबद्धभेदेन त्रिविधाः । कदाचिदपि भगवदभिमतविरुद्धाचरणाभावेन ज्ञानसङ्कोचरहिताः अनन्तगरुड विष्वक्सेनादयः नित्यसूरयः नित्याः । भक्तिप्रपत्त्याद्युपायानुष्ठानेन लक्ष्मीनाथ कृपापात्रभूताः अनादिसंसारावर्तान्मुक्ताः परमव्योम्नि भगवतः यथाऽभिमतकैङ्कर्यकारिणः अपुनरावर्तिनः मुक्ताः । उपाधिवशादनादिकर्मप्रवाहे निमग्नाः, पुनः पुनरन्तकवशमापद्यमानाः जीवाः बद्धाः । एषां स्वाभाविकं ज्ञानं कर्मणा सङ्कुचितम् । अतएव स्वस्वरूपं संसारान्मुक्त्युपायं चाजानानाः, जन्ममरणादि दुःखोपहताः दन्द्रम्यमाणाः परियन्ति ।

एतेषां बद्धानामात्मनां मुक्तये भक्तिः, प्रपत्तिरित्युपायद्वयं प्रवदन्ति विशिष्टाद्वैतिनः । तत्र भक्तिः उत्कृष्टविषयिणी प्रीतिः । सा तैलधारावदविच्छिन्नस्मृतिसन्तानरूपा, साक्षात्कारतुल्यवैशद्ययुक्ता, ध्यानरूपा, आप्रयाणादहरहरनुष्ठीयमाना, अभ्यासाधेयातिशया । मोक्षोपायतया विहिता इयं भक्तिः परभक्तिरित्युच्यते । अनया परभक्त्या भगवत्प्रसादविशेषो जन्यते । अनेन प्रसादविशेषेण तत्कालनियतपरिपूर्ण साक्षात्कारो भवति । साक्षात्कारे संपन्ने तृषितस्य तटाकदर्शनेनेव उत्पन्नः तद्विषयकः प्रीत्यतिशयः परमभक्तिरित्युच्यते ।

एतादृश भक्तेरिदानीं सर्वथाऽनुष्ठातुमशक्यत्वेन प्रपत्तिरेवोपायः रामानुजीयैरवलम्ब्यते । प्रपत्तिः, भरन्यासः, भरसमर्पणं, आत्मनिक्षेपः इत्यादिशब्दैरयमुपायः अभिलप्यते । अयं च भरन्यासः पञ्चाङ्गसंयुतः । अनुष्ठितेन अङ्गपञ्चक युक्तेन अनेन उपायेन प्रीतः भगवान् प्रपन्नस्य जीवस्य प्रपत्तिपूर्वकालीनानामघानां विनाशं उत्तरकालीनानामघानामश्लेषं च संपाद्य देहादुत्क्रमणानन्तरं स्वपदं दिशति ।

स च स्थानविशेषः वैकुण्ठनामा । स चैवं वर्णितः—

लोकं वैकुण्ठनामानं दिव्यं षाड्गुण्यसंयुतम् ।
अवैष्णवानामप्राप्यं गुणत्रयविवर्जितम् ॥
नित्यसिद्धैस्समाकीर्णं तन्मयैः पाञ्चकालिकैः ।
सभाप्रासादसंयुक्तं वनैश्चोपवनैश्शुभम् ॥
वापीकूपतटाकैश्च वृक्षषण्डैश्च मण्डितम् ।
अप्राकृतं सुरैर्वन्द्यं अयुतार्कसमप्रभम् ।
प्रकृष्ट सत्त्वराशिं तं कदा द्रक्ष्यामि चक्षुषा ॥

अत्र च श्रीवैकुण्ठे अप्राकृतशरीरविशिष्टः, अविद्याबन्धविनिर्मुक्तः, आविर्भूतगुणाष्टकः स्वस्वरूपं प्राप्तः मुक्तः जीवः लक्ष्म्या सार्धं क्रीडन्तं मेघश्यामं विशालाक्षं महाबाहुं स्थिरसत्त्वं दृढव्रतं सकलहेयगुणरहितं समस्तकल्याणगुणगणयुतं श्रीमन्नारायणं दर्शंदर्शं नवीकृतप्रीतिपरीवाहः, अभिमतसर्वविधकैङ्कर्यं कुर्वन् हावुहेति साम गायन् 'यतो वाचो निवर्तन्ते अप्राप्य मनसा सह' तादृशमानन्दमनुभवन् अपुनरावृत्तिस्तिष्ठति। सत्यामपि शक्तौ परमपुरुषासाधारणत्वेन पठितं जगत्सृष्टिनियमनादिव्यापारं न विदधाति। अपरिमितं ब्रह्मानन्दमनुभवन् वर्तते। श्रीनाथयामुनादिभिः विशिष्टाद्वैतिभिः मोक्षस्वरूपमेवं निर्णीतम्॥

एतन्निबन्धलेखनाय परामृष्टाः ग्रन्थाः :—

(१) सायणमाधवीयः सर्वदर्शनसङ्ग्रहः।

(२) श्रीमद्रामायणम्।

(३,४) श्रीलक्ष्मीपुरं श्रीनिवासाचार्यकृत मानमेयरहस्य श्लोकवार्तिकम् दर्शनोदयश्च।

(५) शाबरभाष्यम्।

(६) कुमारिल वार्तिकम्।

(७) पार्थसारथिमिश्रकृतशास्त्रदीपिका।

(८,९) साङ्ख्यसूत्रम्, साङ्ख्यकारिका।

(१०) पातञ्जलयोगसूत्रम्।

(११) ब्रह्मसूत्राणि।

(१२) श्रीभाष्यम्

(१३, १४, १५) श्री वेदान्तदेशिककृत न्यायसिद्धाञ्जनम्, रहस्यत्रयसारादयश्च।

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ŚŪRPAṆAKHĀ LEGEND

*Udai Prakash Arora**

During the exile of Rāma in the great Southern forest near the source of Godāvarī, there came the sister of the Rākṣasa Rāvaṇa, named Śūrpaṇakhā. She caught the sight of handsome Rāma and fell in love with him. The ogress assumed the form of a beautiful maiden to attract Rāma. She went to him, with a proposal of marriage, but was rebuffed by the hero, who sent her to Lakṣmaṇa, his younger brother. When Lakṣmaṇa too rejected her, the ogress revealed her cannibalistic nature and sprang towards Sītā. At this, Rāma thrust her back and called Lakṣmaṇa to disfigure the violent Rākṣasī and Lakṣmaṇa cut off her nose and ears.[1]

The following two motifs are noteworthy in the above legend.

1. The ogress assumed the form of a beautiful maiden in order to attract Rāma.

2. Her nose and ears were cut off.

The theme of ogre's sister taking the form of a beautiful maiden also occurs in the *Mahābhārata* where Hiḍimbā, the sister of the ogre Hiḍimba transformed herself to attract Bhīma (I. 139. 13-17).

In Greek mythology, comparable ogress is Lamia, who likewise used to seduce young men and then sucked their blood

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1. (*Rāmāyaṇa*. III. 17-18)

and ate their flesh'.

I

Śūrpaṇakhā, who assumed the form of a beautiful maiden is an ogress trickster, a popular character of folk-tales. Such stories of transformations frequently occur in trickster tales.[2] In a folk-tale from Bengal, a wandering Brāhma a was welcomed by a beautiful woman as her long-lost husband. She was really an ogress, who had devoured all the people of the land.[3] A Siamese story relates the misfortune of a king, who was unfortunate to marry such a wife.[4] Similar stories occur in many other parts of India. In all these stories, however, the ogress manifests her cannibalistic nature, while in Bhīma's case she seems to have reformed for good.[5]

II

The motif of cutting ear and nose may also be seen in the case of another ogress of *Rāmāyaṇa*. When Rāma was attacked by the Rākṣasī Tāḍakā, he, first of all, cut her ear and nose (*Rāmāyaṇa*. I. 26.11.)

This motif occurs at six places in the tales of *Kathāsaritsāgara* (III. 14; X.61; X.62; X.65; XII.77; XVIII. 124). The Cutting

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1. Maria Leach : *Dictionary of Folk-Lore, Mythology and Legends*, p. 601; Pierre Grimal : *Dictionnaire De La Muthologie Grecque Et Romaine*, p. 249-250; Robert Graves : *Greek Myths*, Vol. I., p. 205. In Egypt, similarly Goddess Isis assumed the form of a beautiful woman to lure Set (Pierre Grimal : Larousse, *World Mythology*, p. 48), but Isis was a goddess, not an ogress.
2. Maria Leach : *Ibid.*, p. 1123
3. L. B. Day : *Folk Tales of Bengal*, p. 64-92.
4. N. K. Sidhanta : *The Heroic Age of India*, p. 98.
5. *Ibid.*

of ear and nose is not confined to legends and tales only, but has also been found in actual practice, as a method of punishment, specially for faithless women. Mr A. Grierson, referring to this practice in Bihar, writes, 'An old friend, a civil surgeon in Bihar told me that he had more than once sewed on the nose of an erring spouse. There is a well authenticated story, that a woman once came to a surgeon with her severed nose. There was no time to be lost, so then and there in the bunglow verandah, he set her on table, and laid down beside her the severed portion, while he prepared the surface of wound. A watchful crow interfered with the operation, flew down and carried off the tasty piece of flesh, so that the unfortunate patient had to go noseless for the rest of her days.'[1] Among the Pardhi caste of Central India, the punishment for adultery in either sex consists in cutting off a piece of the left ear with a razor.[2]

This method of punishment was also prevalent in Mexico, where the nose and ears of the faithless woman were first cut off and then she was stoned to death.[3]

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1. Penzer : *Ocean of Story*, Vol. II., p. XI. (Foreword)
2. Ronald shay : *India, A Bird's Eye View*, p. 48; Russel. R. V.; *Tribes and Castes of Central Provinces*. Vol. IV., p. 364.
3. Precott W. H. : *History of the Conquest of* Peru. p. 21.

काव्य प्रयोजनानि-आलंकारिकाणां सम्प्रदायाश्च

डॉ० ब्रह्ममित्र अवस्थी

भारतीयालंकारशास्त्रे सामान्यतो रस-अलंकार-रीति-ध्वनि-वक्रोक्ति-औचित्य सम्प्रदायाः स्वीक्रियन्ते। एतेषां सम्प्रदायानां विवेचनप्रसंगेऽलंकारशास्त्रीयैरैतिह्यविद्भिः प्रायशस्सर्वैरपि केवलं कालक्रममवलम्ब्य तत्सूत्रेण समेषामप्येतेषां सम्प्रदायानां कापि विकासपरम्परा स्थापयितुं प्रयत्यते। तेषामिदमभिमतं यद् 'यद्यपि नाट्यशास्त्रकृता भरतेन नाट्यान्तर्वर्त्तिषु काव्येषु रसस्यात्मत्वं प्रत्यपादि, परन्नाट्यान्तर्वर्त्तितया तस्य काव्यस्य न प्राधान्येन काव्यत्वमिति तद्विवेचनं न काव्यशास्त्रीयम्। काव्यशास्त्रीयौ प्रथमावाचार्यौ तु दण्डिभामहौ। एतयोरेवैकतरः शास्त्रस्यास्य प्रथम आचार्यः। शास्त्रस्यास्य शैशवाद् तद्दिनेषु काव्यतत्त्वचिंतनपरम्परायां प्रौढेरभावादाभ्यां काव्यस्य बाह्यमेव किमपि चमत्काराधायकं तत्त्वं गवेषितम्, तदेव प्रशस्ततरं सर्वशः चमत्काराधायकं चेति निश्चित्य अलंकारा एव काव्ये प्रधानमिति ताभ्यामंगीकृतम्। कालेन सत्यामुत्तरोत्तरं काव्यतत्त्वमीमांसायां ततो भिन्नं किमपि रीतिनामकं तत्त्वं वामनेनावलोकितं, काव्यात्मतया प्रतिष्ठापितं च तेन[1]। एतन्मते सौन्दर्यस्यैवालंकारत्वं[2] गुणाश्च काव्यशोभायाः कर्त्तारो धर्माः[3], गुणानां समग्रासमग्राणां काव्ये सन्निवेशाच्च वैदर्भीप्रभृतयः रीतयः स्वीक्रियन्ते[4]। एता एव तन्मते काव्यात्मभूताः। एतन्मते सौन्दर्यं सत्स्वपि काव्यशोभाधातृषु गुणेषु तत्रातिशयस्य सन्निवेशोऽलंकारैरेव। कालक्रमेण रीत्युत्तरमपि रहस्यभूतं सम्भवति किमपीत्यनुसंधानपरेण सहृदयहृदयानन्दवर्द्धनेनानन्दवर्द्धनेन ध्वनेराविष्कृतिर्विहिता। समुद्घोषितं च परतस्तेन तस्य काव्यात्मत्वम्[5]। अत्रापि च परमां निर्वृत्तिमनवलोकयता कुन्तकेन वक्रोक्तिः, महिमभट्टेन काव्यानुमितिः क्षेमेन्द्रेण चाचार्येणौचित्यं काव्यात्मतया प्रकाशितम्। एवं विविधेषु काव्यात्मतया स्वीकृतेषु काव्यतत्त्वेषु किमु भवेत् प्रशस्ततमं रहस्यतमं चेति मीमांसद्भिः विश्वनाथ-जगन्नाथप्रभृतिभिः भरतेन स्वीकृतो रस एव काव्यात्मतया लोकोत्तरचमत्काराधायकतया च स्वीकृत इति तद्विदां मतम्।

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१. रीतिरात्मा काव्यस्य। काव्यालंकारसूत्रवृत्तिः १, २, ६

२ सौन्दर्यमलंकारः। तदेव १, १, २

३. काव्यशोभायाः कर्त्तारो धर्माः गुणाः। तदेव ३, १, १

४. समग्रगुणोपेता वैदर्भी। माधुर्यसौकुमार्योपपन्ना पाञ्चाली। ओजःकान्तिमती गौडीया। तदेव १, २, ११-१३

५. काव्यस्यात्मा स एवार्थः। ध्वन्यालोकः १.५

समेषामपि काव्यशास्त्रीयाणां संप्रदायानां गुम्फनेन विहितेयं काव्यात्मतत्त्व-श्रृंखलाऽनवद्येव निर्मीमांस्येव प्रतिभाति । परमत्र प्रसंगे केवलमैतिह्यमाश्रित्य विवेचनं कुर्वद्भिर्विद्वद्भिः तत्तत्कवेः काव्यकरणे प्रयोजनविशेषमनवेक्ष्यैव मीमांसितम् । प्रयोजनमनु काव्यार्थः नूनं भिद्येत, काव्यार्थ एव भवेत् तत्र तत्र काव्येषु प्रधानम्, तदेव चात्मतया स्वीकरणीयमिति काव्यात्मविषये तत्तत्काव्येषु काव्यप्रयोजनमुखेनैव मीमांसन-मपेक्षते ।

काव्यकरणे कवेः यान्यपि प्रयोजनानि भवितुमर्हन्ति तानीमानि—यशोलाभः, अर्थलाभः, अमंगलनिवृत्तिः, सद्यः परनिर्वृत्तिः, व्यवहारशिक्षणम्, कान्तासम्मित-उपदेशो वा । तथा चोक्तम् :—

काव्यं यशसेऽर्थकृते व्यवहारविदे शिवेतरक्षतये ।
सद्यः परनिर्वृत्तये कान्तासम्मिततयोपदेशयुजे[१] ॥

प्रयोजनानीमानि न समष्टितया काव्यस्य सम्भवन्त्यपि तु व्यष्टितया यथावसरं भवन्ति, परस्परं विरुद्धानामेषामेकत्र प्राधान्येनानुद्दिष्टत्वात् । अप्राधान्येन प्रयोजना-न्तरमपि कदाचित् भवेच्चेन्न कश्चिद् विरोधः । स्वीकृतञ्चाचार्यैः कविकुलगुरोः कालिदासस्य काव्यकरणे प्रयोजनं यशोलाभः धावकस्य चार्थलाभः[२] ।

अमीषां काव्यप्रयोजनानां परीक्षणेन कवीनां वर्गचतुष्टयं स्वीकर्तुं शक्यते । तद्यथा :—

१. केचन कवयः काव्यचमत्कारेण भूपतीन् धनिकान् श्रेष्ठिवर्यान्वा चमत्कृत्य परितोष्य च वित्तार्जनं चिकीर्षन्ति, कदाचिद् वा प्रत्यग्रं धनमुपेक्षन्तः यश एव कामयन्ते । ततश्च राजसभायां प्रवेशं सम्मानं प्राधान्यं वा लब्ध्वाऽप्रत्यक्षं धनं कामयन्ते । एतादृशानां कवीनां काव्यकरणे प्रयोजनं धनं यशः प्राप्तिर्वा, एतदुभयं वा वक्तुं शक्यते । विक्रम-भोज-चालुक्य (विक्रमांकदेव)-प्रतापरुद्र-शिंगभूपालप्रभृतीनां राज्ञामा-श्रिताः शतशः कवयः वर्गेऽस्मिन् परिगणयितुं शक्यन्ते ।

२. केचन कवयः स्वमन्तव्यविशेषं धर्मविशेषं वा प्रथयितुं काव्यमुपायतयांगी-कुर्वन्ति । सौन्दरनन्दस्य रचनायामश्वघोषस्य, जातकमालायाः रचनामार्यशूरस्य, दर्पदलनादिकाव्यानां रचनायां क्षेमेन्द्रस्य, नीतिशतकस्य रचनायां भर्तृहरेः प्रयोजन-मुपदेश एव बभूव ।

३. इतरे च केचन कवयः देवविशेषे परमां भक्तिमापन्नाः आराध्यतमं तं तं देवं स्तोत्रात्मकैः काव्यैः स्तुवन्ति । दुःखत्रितयेन वा भृशं पीडिताः तन्मोक्षायानिशं प्रार्थयन्ते काव्यैः । एतादृशानां कवीनां काव्यकरणे प्रयोजनमनिष्टनिवृत्तिः परमा भक्तिर्वा भवेत् । शिवमहिम्नस्तोत्रे पुष्पदन्तस्य, सूर्यशतके मयूरस्य गंगालहर्यां पण्डितराजस्य

१. काव्यप्रकाशः १, २ २. स एव १, २

प्रयोजनमिदमेव । श्रूयते रघुवंशस्य रचनायां च कविकुलगुरोः कालिदासस्यापि प्रयोजनमेतादृशमेव बभूव । प्रयोजनमिदं शिवेतरक्षतिरितिनाम्ना मम्मटेन निर्दिष्टम् ।

४. परे च कवयः स्वान्तःसुखाय, काव्येनालौकिकं चमत्कारमिव ब्रह्मास्वादसुखमिव परमानन्दमिवास्वदितुं कवयन्ति, सहृदयांश्च तादृशमलौकिकमानन्दं समास्वादयन्ति । वाल्मीकिव्यासकालिदासामरुकप्रभृतयः कवयोऽमुमेव वर्गमलंकुर्वाणाः प्रतीयन्ते ।

तदेवं कविषु प्रयोजनमनुसृत्य चतस्रः विधाः भवितुमर्हन्ति, अथवा प्रयोजनवशात् काव्यं चतुर्धा भवितुमर्हति (१) चमत्कारप्रधानं यशोहेतुकमर्थहेतुकं वा । (२) उपदेशप्रधानं व्यवहारशिक्षणहेतुकम् । (३) भक्तिप्रधानं स्तुतिहेतुकं शिवेतरक्षतिहेतुकं वा । (४) रसप्रधानं ब्रह्मास्वादसहोदरमानन्दानुभावकं चेति ।

प्रयोजनमनुप्रयुक्तं वाक्यमिव काव्यमपि कदाचिदेकमेव प्रयोजनविशेषं वहति कदाचित्प्रयोजनान्तरमपि । सत्सु विविधेष्वपि प्रयोजनेषु कदाचिदेकस्य प्राधान्यमितरस्य इतरेषां वा गौणता, कदाचिद् द्वयोः समप्रधान्यम् । इत्येवं प्रयोजनवशात् काव्यानां बहुविधत्वम् । तत्र काव्यचमत्कारस्य प्रदर्शनेन धनं यशोवार्जयितुकामस्य कवेः काव्ये चमत्कारहेतुभूतानामलंकारपदाभिधेयानान्तत्त्वानामेव प्राधान्यं भवितुमर्हति न विधिनिषेधरूपस्य उपदेशापरपर्यायस्य वस्तुनः, नवाऽलौकिकास्वादरूपस्य ब्रह्मास्वादसहोदरस्य रसादेः । कर्मविशेषस्य विधौ निषेधे वा परं प्रवर्त्तयितुं काव्यमुखेनोपदेशाय प्रवृत्तस्य कवेः रचनासु वस्तुमात्रापरपर्यायस्य विधिनिषेधस्यैव प्राधान्यं भवितुमर्हति न चमत्कारजनकानामलंकाराणां नवा रसादेः । भक्त्या देवविशेषं स्तोतुं प्रवृत्तस्य कवेः रचनासु देवविशेषम्प्रति भक्तिभावस्यैव प्राधान्यं स्यान्नालंकाराणां, नवा रसादेः नापि विधिनिषेधरूपस्य वस्तुनः । तथैव स्वान्तःसुखाय काव्यकर्मणि, प्रवृत्तस्य प्रतिभानवतः कवेः काव्ये रसस्यैव (रसादेर्वा) प्राधान्यं स्यान्नालंकाराणां न वा वस्तुमात्रस्योपदेशरूपस्य । भक्तिरपि रतिभावसमुद्भवो भाव इति तस्य रसादावेवान्तर्भूततया परिगणनं कर्त्तुं शक्यते । तदेवं प्रयोजनधिया त्रिविधमेव काव्यम्—वस्तुप्रधानम्, अलंकारप्रधानम्, रसादिप्रधानं चेति । तत एव ध्वनिकारेणापि त्रिविधैव ध्वनिरंगीकृता वस्तुमात्रम् अलंकाराः रसादयश्चेति । इतरेतरसंसर्गकृतस्य सांकर्यस्यात्रैव त्रिषु भवेदन्तर्भाव इति न ते पृथग्गणिताः । तद्यथा लोककल्याणाय प्रवृत्तस्य विष्णुशर्मणः काव्येऽस्मिन्—

"प्रारभ्यते न खलु विघ्नभयेन नीचैः, प्रारभ्य विघ्नविहताः विरमन्ति मध्याः ।
विघ्नैः पुनः पुनरपि प्रतिहन्यमानाः, प्रारभ्य चोत्तमजनाः न परित्यजन्ति"[१] ॥

अत्र 'सुनिश्चितं कार्यं निर्भयेन सता प्रारभणीयम्, सत्स्वपि बहुविधेषु विघ्नेषु तत्कार्यं परिसमाप्यैव विरामः कार्यः नान्यथे'त्ययमुपदेश एव प्रधानतया कविप्रयोजनभूतः,

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१. पञ्चतन्त्रम् ३, २३९

नालंकारा रसादयो वा। 'विघ्नविहता: विरमन्ति' 'पुन: पुनरपि प्रतिहन्यमाना:' इत्यादिषु पदेषु वर्णसाम्यप्रयुक्तोऽनुप्रास: सन्नपि न प्रधानभूत:। उत्तमजनानामुत्साह: व्यज्यमानोऽपि न्यग्भूत: इति न तस्यापि प्राधान्यम्।

राजसभां समेत्य राज्ञ: परितोषेण धनमर्जयितुकामस्य कस्यापि कवे:—

'पृथुकार्तस्वरपात्रं भूषितनिश्शेषपरिजनं देव!
विलसत्करेणु गहनं सम्प्रति सममावयो: सदनम्[1]॥'

इत्येतस्मिन् काव्ये याचक: कवि: राज्ञ: स्वस्य च साम्यं श्लेषालंकारमुखेन प्रतिपाद्य राजानं परितोष्यस्य तस्य दयाभावमिच्छति, ततश्च राज्ञ: सकाशाद् धनं कामयते। साम्यप्रतिपादनहेतुभूतस्य श्लेषालंकारस्यैवात्र प्राधान्यम्। परितोषनीये राजनि विद्यमाना भक्ति: अप्रधानभूता हठात्कथमपि कोऽपि ग्राह्यमाणश्चेदुपदेश: सर्वथा न्यग्भूत:।

अत्र च कालिदासकृते काव्ये :—

हरस्तु किंचित्परिलुप्तधैर्यश्चन्द्रोदयारम्भ इवाम्बुराशि:।
उमामुखे बिम्बफलाधरोष्ठे व्यापारयामास विलोचनानि[2]॥

अत्राश्रयभूते हरे बिम्बफलाधरोष्ठविशिष्टमुखयुक्तेन उमारूपेण विभावेन, विलोचनव्यापाररूपेणानुभावेन विलुप्तधैर्यत्वेनाभिव्यञ्जमानैरौत्सुक्यचपलतामोहादिभिर्व्यभिचारिभावैरभिव्यक्त: उमाम्प्रति रतिभावाख्य:स्थायिभाव: रसनीयतां प्राप्तत्वात् श्रृंगाररसाभिख्याम्प्राप्त: प्राधान्यं भजते। द्वितीयचरणे प्रकाशमानोप्युपमालंकार: तद्द्योतकतयोपात्त: सुतरां गुणीभूय तिष्ठति। सौन्दर्यादयो विषया: इन्द्रियगोचरताम्प्राप्ता: हरसदृशानामपि धैर्यं विलोपयन्ति किमु सामान्यपुरुषाणामिति सर्वथा इन्द्रियाणि मनोहारिभ्यो विषयेभ्यो निवर्तनीयानि इत्यादिरूप उपदेशो बलादाकृष्टोऽपि नात्र काव्ये विधेयभावमाप्तुमलम् इति न भवेत्केषामपि सहृदयानां वैमत्यमत्र विषये।

ध्वनिकारव्याख्यानदिशा प्रथमे वस्तुमात्रस्य चमत्कार:, द्वितीये श्लेषालंकारस्य, चरमे च रसस्य। तदेवं त्रिविधं काव्यं वस्तुमात्रप्रधानमलंकारप्रधानं रसप्रधानं चेति[3]। तत्र प्रथमयो: द्वयो: वाच्यत्वव्यंग्यत्वे संभवत: तृतीयस्य तु व्यंग्यत्वमात्रमिति न कश्चिद् भेद:। यत्र च काव्ये यस्य प्राधान्यं तदात्मकत्वमेव तस्य काव्यस्येति निश्चितप्रचम्।

काव्यशास्त्रीयाणामाचार्याणां यद् यद् लक्ष्यभूतं काव्यन्तदधिकृत्यैव तैस्तैराचार्यै: काव्येषु वस्तुमात्रस्यालंकाराणां रसादेर्वा प्राधान्यं यथायथं स्वस्वकृतेषु काव्य-लक्षण

१. काव्यप्रकाश उदाहरणांक: ३०६, ३७०

२. कुमारसम्भवम् ३.६७

३. सह्यर्थो, वाच्यसामर्थ्याक्षिप्तं वस्तुमात्रम्, अलंकारा रसादयश्चेत्यनेकप्रभेदभिन्नो दर्शयिष्यते। ध्वन्यालोक: १.४ पृ० २०

(काव्यलंकार) ग्रन्थेषु विवेचितम्। न तु तत्तत्तत्त्वसाक्षात्कारक्रमेण तैस्तैराचार्यैर-लंकारादिकाव्योपादानतत्त्वानां क्रमेणाविर्भावः। अतएवालंकारसम्प्रदायादारभ्य ध्वनिसम्प्रदायपर्यन्तमौचित्यसम्प्रदायपर्यन्तं वा, ऐतिह्यं सूत्रतयावलम्ब्य काव्यतत्त्व सम्प्रदायानां माल्ययोजनायाम्प्रयत्नो नानवद्यः।

अत्रालंकारिकाणां सम्प्रदायभेदप्रसंगे वस्तुतः कवीनां सम्प्रदायभेदः एव कारणम् अर्थात् तत्कविसम्प्रदायकृतस्य काव्यस्य लक्ष्यतया समाश्रयणेन काव्यशास्त्रीयेष्वाचार्येषु सम्प्रदायभेदः। तत्तदाचार्याणां काव्यशास्त्रनिर्माणे प्रयोजनभेदस्यापि तत्र भेदजनने हेतुत्वम्। तेषां तेषां सम्प्रदायानामुद्भवक्रमस्तु भरताद् दण्डिपर्यन्तं सामान्यतः नवशतकं यावदैतिह्यस्यानुपलम्भात् सम्प्रति व्यवस्थापयितुमशक्यः। भरतकृते नाट्यशास्त्रे रससम्प्रदायस्य सुव्यवस्थितस्योपलम्भात् को नाम इदमंगीकुर्यात् यत्स्थूलतमत्वादेव सर्वेषु सम्प्रदायेष्वलंकारसम्प्रदायः प्राचीनतम इति।

अनुपदमेवेदमुक्तं यत्कवीनां सम्प्रदायभेदाद् आचार्याणां च काव्यशास्त्ररचनायाम्प्रयोजनभेदात् काव्यशास्त्रेऽप्येष सम्प्रदायभेदः। तत्रेदमवधेयं यद् यशः धनं वाऽर्जयितुं काव्यं चिकीर्षूणां नवकवीनां शिक्षायै ग्रथितं काव्यशास्त्रमलंकारप्रधानम्। तदेवालंकार सम्प्रदायेति नाम्ना व्यवह्रियते विद्वद्भिः। अतएव तत्संप्रदायवन्तो दण्डिभोजवामन-राजशेखरजयदेवप्रभृतयः आचार्याः कविशिक्षार्थं चमत्कारविशेषजनकानामलंकाराणां विशिष्य वर्णनं चक्रुः, कविशिक्षाविषयकं वा प्रकरणं स्वस्वग्रन्थेषु निवबन्धुः। काव्य क्रियायाः शिक्षायै अभ्यासाय वा राजभिः राजसभासु कवीनां सम्माननं धनप्रदानेन तेषां भौतिकीनामावश्यकतानां परिपूरणञ्चात्र(काव्यकरण)विषये नवकविभ्यो विशेषेण प्रवृत्ति-जनकं बभूव। यथाद्यत्वे विविधानां बी० ए०, एम० ए० प्रभृतीनामुपाधीनां राजकीय-सेवासु प्रवेशार्थं नितरामनिवार्यता भवति, तत एव च शिक्षाप्रचाराय स्थापितैः विद्यालयैः महाविद्यालयैश्च सहानेके विद्यालयाः महाविद्यालयाश्च तत्तदुपाधिप्राप्तय आपणभूताः अनुदिनं संख्याभिः वर्धन्ते, तथैव तद्दिनेषु राजसभासु प्रवेशाय साधनतमत्वेन स्वीकृतायाः काव्यकरणविद्याया अभ्यासार्थं शिक्षार्थं वा चमत्कारजनकमलंकाराख्यं तत्त्वं क्रियमाणेषु काव्येपूत्पादयितुं शिक्षकभूतानामाचार्याणां बाहुल्यं समजनि, तत एव च अलंकारा एव काव्येषु प्रधानमिति प्रवादोऽपि प्रथितः। एतत्परम्परायामेव कदाचित् कृत्रिमेभ्योऽलंकारेभ्यो वितृष्णेनापि सतृष्णेन 'काव्यशोभायाः कर्त्तारो धर्माः गुणाः, तदतिशयहेतवस्त्वलंकाराः[1] इति ब्रुवाणेन काव्यालंकारसूत्रवृत्तिकृता वामनेन रीतीनां काव्यात्मत्वमंगीचक्रे, सौन्दर्यालंकारशब्दौ च पर्यायतया स्वीकृतौ।[2] एतन्मते रीतीनां च गुणैरभिन्नत्वमेव। तदुत्तरवर्तिना भोजेन गुणालंकाराभ्यां सहादोषता रसवत्त्वं चेति द्वयं काव्यत्वेऽनिवार्यतयांगीकृतम्।[3] अग्नि-

१. काव्यालंकार सूत्रवृत्तिः ३, १, १२

२. तदेव, १. २. ६, १. १. २

३. सरस्वती कंठाभरणम् १. २.

पुराणकारस्य चापीदमेव मतं बभूव[1]। भोजस्वीकृते काव्यलक्षणे रसवत्वसमावेशे सत्यपि सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरणे प्रहेलिकादीनां चित्रालंकाराणां विशिष्य विवेचनस्योपलम्भाद् वक्तुमिदं नातिदुष्करं यत्तस्यापि ग्रन्थरचनायाः प्रयोजनं कविशिक्षणमेव बभूव। हेमचन्द्र[2] जयदेव[3] प्रभृतयस्तदनुवर्त्तिनः काव्यस्यादोषत्वं स्वीकुर्वन्तो गुणालंकारयोरेव प्राधान्यमंगीकृतवन्तः। जयदेवस्तु अनुष्णत्वाभावेऽनलाभाव इवालंकाराभावे काव्यत्वाभावं स्वीचकार।[4]

इत्येवमेतेषां सर्वेषामपि काव्याचार्याणां मते प्रदर्शनप्रयासप्रायस्तया बाह्यस्य सौन्दर्यस्याधायका अलंकाराः प्राधान्यं भेजिरे। प्रयत्नसाध्यानामेषां शिक्षैव काव्यशास्त्रस्य प्रयोजनमेतेषां मते स्यात्। सद्धर्मप्रचाराय नीतिशिक्षायै वा कविकर्मणि प्रवर्त्तमानेभ्यः कविभ्यः एतादृशां गुणालंकारादीनां शिक्षणं नावश्यकम् नवालंकारादियोजनार्थमभ्यासः नितरांकरणीयो भवति। लोकशास्त्रकाव्याद्यवेक्षणमेवैतेषां मते भवति पर्याप्तम्। ऋषीणां जिनबुद्धादीनां वा साक्षात्कृतधर्माणामुपदेशश्रवणेन शास्त्रादिपरिशीलनेन वा सुनिश्चितः धर्मः (कर्तव्यबोध.) तत्रात्मतया तिष्ठति इति नापेक्षा तत्र परम्परायामलङ्कारादीनां शिक्षणस्य। इत्येवं निर्विवादमिदं स्वीकरणीयं स्याद् यदुपदेशाय व्यवहारशिक्षणाय वा काव्यकर्मणिप्रविवर्तिषमाणेभ्यः कविभ्यो न किमपि प्रयोजनं कविशिक्षायाः। अतएवैतादृशेभ्यः कविभ्यः काव्यशास्त्रमनावश्यकम्। एतादृशेषु काव्येषु व्यवहारशिक्षणमुपदेशापरपर्यायम्प्रधानभूतम्, अलंकाराः रसादयश्च प्रयासं विनैवापतिताः गुणीभूताः।

शिवेतरक्षतये देवाराधनपराणां भक्तानां कवीनां काव्येष्वपि रीतय अलंकारा वानपेक्षिताः, उपदेशोऽपि कदाचित्सन्नपि गुणीभूत इत्येतादृग्भ्यः कविभ्योपि कविशिक्षा नावश्यकी। नवा तादृशकाव्यस्यानुशीलनाय कवित्वविषयं तत्त्वज्ञानमावश्यकं भवति। यतो भक्तिः स्वतः समुत्पद्यते मनसि। केनापि लौकिकेन कारणेन सत्यां वितृष्णायां वा जगद्विषये, देवाराधनाय ब्रह्मानन्दलाभाय वा मनः स्वत एव प्रवर्त्तते। सूरमीरारसखानादिभाषाकवीनां नामदेववल्लभप्रभृतीनां भागवतानां वा कवीनां कवित्वमत्र विषये निदर्शनभूतम्।

ब्रह्मास्वादसहोदरमलौकिकचमत्कारात्मकं परमानन्दनिष्यन्दभूतं रसमास्वादयद्भिः कविभिः प्रसूतस्य काव्यस्य कवनायापि व्युत्पत्तिः कविशिक्षाजन्या नावश्यकी,

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१. काव्यं स्फुटदलंकारं गुणवद्दोषवर्जितम्॥ अग्निपुराणम् ३३७.७

२. अदोषौ सगुणौ सालङ्कारौ च शब्दार्थौ काव्यम्॥ काव्यानुशासनम् १. ११.

३. निर्दोषा लक्षणवती सरीति गुणगुम्फिता।
सालंकाररसानेकवृत्तिर्वाक्काव्यनामभाक्॥ चन्द्रालोकः १.७।

४. अंगीकरोति यः काव्यं शब्दार्थावनलंकृती।
असौ न मन्यते कस्मादनुष्णमनलं कृती॥ चन्द्रालोकः १.१८

इति परम्परायामस्यामपि कविशिक्षायै न काव्यशास्त्रं प्रभवेत्। शक्त्यपरपर्याया प्रतिभैव तादृशकाव्यप्रसविनी। तदुक्तं "काव्यं तु जायते जातु कस्यचित् प्रतिभावतः" इति (काव्या० १·५) भामहेन, 'कवित्वबीजं प्रतिभानमिति वामनेन (१-३-१६), 'अव्युत्पत्तिकृतो दोषः शक्त्या संव्रियते कवेः, यस्त्वशक्तिकृतो दोषः झटित्येवावभासत' इति (ध्वन्या०, पृष्ठ २७१) सहृदयानन्दवर्द्धनेनानन्दवर्द्धनेन, "सा (शक्तिः) केवलं काव्ये हेतुरिति यायावरीय' इति राजशेखरेण, 'रसानुगुणशब्दार्थचिन्तास्तिमितचेतसः। क्षणं स्वरूपस्पर्शोत्था प्रज्ञैव प्रतिभा कवेः' (व्यक्ति वि० पृ० ३९१) इत्यादि महिमभट्टेनान्यैश्चानेकैराचार्यैः। तदेवं रसापरपर्यायस्यास्वादरूपस्य स्वान्तर्विपरिवर्तमानस्यानन्दस्यानुभावनार्थं काव्यकर्मणि प्रवृत्तेभ्यः कविभ्यः कविकर्मशिक्षणाय नावश्यकं काव्यशास्त्रम्, प्रतिभायाः एव तन्मते काव्यहेतुत्वात्। परं रसात्मकस्य काव्यस्यास्वादार्थं सहृदयानां प्रशिक्षणाय कदाचित्तदपेक्षितमिति कृत्वा सहृदयहृदयोद्बोधनार्थं काव्यशास्त्रं करणीयतामर्हति, अपि चार्थोपार्जनाय काव्यकर्मशिक्षणाय कृतं काव्यशास्त्रमलंकार प्रधानं समीक्ष्य कविषु सहृदयेषु वा मा भूत् काव्यात्मविषये भ्रान्तिरिति रसवादिभिरपि काव्याचार्यैः रसप्रधानं काव्यशास्त्रं विरचितं भवेत्। प्रवृत्तिश्चैतादृशामाचार्याणां न भूयसीति भरतीये नाट्यशास्त्रे रसात्मकत्वं काव्यस्य स्वीकृतं समीक्ष्य तददिनेषु कल्प्यमानापि रसवादिकाव्यशास्त्रपरम्परा चिरं लुप्यमानेवावलोक्यते। अभिनवगुप्ताचार्यानन्तरमेव कदाचित्पुनः सा दृष्टिपथमवतरति।

कदाचिदेतत्परम्परावर्तिभिराचार्यैरतएव काव्यलक्षणेऽलंकारसद्भावासद्भावविषये मौनमेवाकलितम् अतएव काव्यलक्षणतया :—

मृदुललितपदाढ्यं गूढशब्दार्थहीनम्
जनपदसुखबोध्यं युक्तिमन्नृत्ययोज्यम्।
बहुकृतरसमार्गं सन्धिसन्धानयुक्तम्
भवति हि शुभकाव्यं नाटकप्रेक्षकाणाम्॥

इति भरतकृते नाट्यशास्त्रे (१६-११८) 'शब्दार्थौ काव्यमिति' ब्रुवतापि, 'तस्मात्तत्कर्त्तव्यं यत्नेन महीयसा रसैर्युक्तम्' इत्यादि 'भवति विरसमेवानेन हीनं तु काव्यम्' इत्यादि च रुद्रटेन काव्यालंकारे (२.१.१२.२.१४.३८), 'कविव्यापारो हि विभावादिसंयोजनात्मा रसाभिव्यक्त्यव्यभिचारि काव्यमुच्यते, इत्यादि 'न गुणालंकारसंस्कृतशब्दार्थशरीरं तावत्काव्यम् तस्य रसात्मकताभावे मुख्यवृत्या काव्यव्यपदेश एव न स्यादि'त्यादि 'रसात्मकं च काव्यमि'त्यादि च महिमभट्टेन व्यक्तिविवेके (पृ० ९६,९८,१२६), अभाणि।

सहृदयानन्दवर्द्धन आनन्दवर्द्धनस्तु पूर्वमुपवर्णितानां भिन्नप्रयोजनानां कवीनां काव्यानि समीक्ष्य तत्र लक्ष्येषु कुत्रचिद् विधिनिषेधरूपस्य वस्तुमात्रापरपर्यायस्योपदेशस्य काव्यात्मत्वम्, अन्यत्र बुद्धिवैशद्यद्योतकानां चमत्कारमात्रजनकानां

शब्दार्थावाश्रित्य स्थितानामलंकाराणां काव्यात्मत्वम्, इतरत्र काव्येषु ब्रह्मास्वाद-सहोदरस्यानन्दरूपस्यालौकिकचमत्कारतैकप्राणस्य रसादेरात्मतयावस्थितिं विलोक्य तत्तल्लक्ष्यानुसारि समन्वयात्मकं काव्यलक्षणं स्वीचकार **काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिरिति।** तत्प्रयोजनं च सर्वविधकाव्यपरिशीलनार्हत्वजननम् । काव्यात्मविषये प्रथितानां विविधानां वादानां पर्यालोचनेन पर्याकुलानां नवकवीनां वा पथि **आलोकदानायालोक** दानाय प्रावर्तत । तत एव च तन्मते रसरूपो वस्त्वलंकाररूपो वा त्रिविधोऽपि ध्वनिः काव्यात्मभूतः ।

तेनेदं वक्तुं नातिदुष्करं यदर्थार्थिनां क्वचिद्यशोऽर्थिनां वा कवीनां काव्येषु-शब्दार्थचमत्काराधायका अलंकारा एवात्मभूताः । रीतिवक्रोक्ती अपि सम्प्रदाय-स्यास्यैव विकासभूते । सम्प्रदाया इमे केवलमर्थार्थिभ्यो यशोऽर्थिभ्यो वा कविभ्यः प्रवर्तिता । व्यवहारविदे कान्तासम्मिततयोपदेशयुजे च काव्यकर्मणि प्रवृत्तानां कवीनां काव्येषु विधिनिषेधात्मकं वस्तुमात्रमेवात्मभूतम् । अश्वघोष-आर्यशूर-भर्तृ-हरि-क्षेमेन्द्रप्रभृतीनां काव्येष्वस्यैव वस्तुमात्रस्य काव्यत्वम् । नैतादृशकाव्यनिर्माणाय तद्बोधाय वा भवति कस्यापि काव्यशास्त्रस्यापेक्षा । औचित्यविवेकः लोकशास्त्राद्य-वेक्षणमात्रं तत्र प्रावीण्यं जनयेदिति न कश्चिदपि काव्यशास्त्रसंप्रदायः एतत्प्रयोजन-सम्बद्धः ऋते कथमप्यौचित्यात् । ब्रह्मास्वादसहोदरं लोकोत्तरचमत्कारतैकप्राणमानन्दं रसात्मकमास्वादयितुं प्रवृत्तस्य कवेः काव्ये, आराध्याय देवाय सर्वस्वार्पणेन सर्व-विधानिष्टनिवारणाय समुत्सुकस्य भक्तकवेर्वा काव्ये रसादीनां भक्तिभावस्य वात्मत्वम् । एतत्परम्परायां काव्यशास्त्रं न कवि शिक्षायै, परं काव्यपरिशीलनपराणां सहृदयानां कृत एव । काव्यसमीक्षैव चात्र काव्यशास्त्रप्रयोजनभूता न कविशिक्षा । प्रतिभा चात्र मते काव्यबीजभूता ।

एवं कविप्रयोजनभेदात्काव्यं त्रिविधम्, (१) उपदेशात्मकं विधिनिषेधप्रति-पादकं वस्तुमात्रप्रधानम्, (२) अलंकारप्रधानम्, (३) रसप्रधानं चेति । वस्तुमात्रम् (उपदेशः) अलंकाराः रसादयश्चैते त्रयोऽपि च यथायथमात्मभूताः काव्येषु । एतेषु त्रिषु कस्याप्येकस्य प्राधान्ये तदितरयोस्तत्त्वयोरङ्गभावेनावस्थानम् । तथाहि रसात्मके काव्येऽलंकारा उपदेशश्चाङ्गभूताः । अलंकारात्मके च काव्य उपदेशो रसादयश्चाङ्ग-भूताः । उपदेशात्मके च काव्ये रसादीनामलंकारादीनां चांगभावेनावस्थानम् इति पूर्वपृष्ठेषूदाहृतम् ।

आनन्दवर्धनाचार्यः ध्वनिवादी सन्नपि समन्वयवादी बभूव । अतएव तेन वस्तुमात्रमलंकाराः रसादयश्चैते त्रयोपि ध्वनिभेदतया अंगीकृताः । ध्वनेरेवात्मत्वं स्वीकुर्वता त्रयाणामपि काव्यत्वं स्वीकृतम् । तदेव साम्प्रतिकसंस्कृतकाव्यशास्त्रीयेष्वा-चार्येषु रसात्मकस्यैव काव्यस्य काव्यत्वमिति प्रवादो विचारणीय एव । कवीनां प्रयोजनं समीक्ष्य काव्यसमीक्षापद्धतिरेव च न्याय्या भवेदिति ।

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EVOLUTION OF CRIMINAL LAW -TRANSITION FROM MANU TO YĀJÑAVALKYA*

Rameshchandra S. Betai

"Justice in the broadest sense consists in the ordering of human relation in accordance with general principles impartially applied." Morris Ginsberg[1]

"Philosophers and theorists of the law would do better service to humanity if they tried to persuade people not only that their moral ideas require improvement, but that their laws, so far as possible, ought to come up to the improved standard, than they do by wasting their ingenuity in sophisms, about the sovereignty of law and its independence of the realm of justice." Westermark[2]

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"The function of the criminal law in so far as it concerns the subject of this inquiry......is to preserve public order and decency, to protect the citizen from what is offensive or injurious, and to provide sufficient safeguard against exploitation and corruption of others, particularly those who are young, weak in body or mind, inexperienced, or in a state of special physical, official, or economic dependence" states Ginsberg.[3] This clear conception of criminal law cannot be claimed to have developed in the days of Manu and though greater evolution

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1. 'On Justice in Society', p. 56
2. Westermark in 'Moral Ideas', Vol. 1, p. 201
3. 'On Justice in Society', p. 220

of law, the concept of law and the concept of the purposes of punishments was expected, Manu is sufficiently advanced and fairly clear in his ideology on law and punishment, the criminal in particular. As we study the evolution of criminal law from Manu to Yājñavalkya, i. e. roughly from the second century B. C. to the second century A. D.,[1] we should first of all note the position of Manu regarding criminal law as follows :

(i) In all cases of investigation of plaint in the offence, finding out of truth at all costs is expected to be the primary concern of the presiding judge and also of all those who attend the court of law, irrespective of whether they are appointed as witnesses or not.

(ii) When we come to criminal plaints in particular, we see that Manu's greatest anxiety is preservation of individual and social morals, keeping intact the social order, perfect safety of the honour of all individuals and the women in particular. That is the reason why he rather goes out of the way and insists on harshest punishments, even though they might strike as harsh and he seems to believe that with every lower caste, there is greater possibility of criminal offences.[2] This is probably one of the reasons why he inflicts punishments according to the gradation of the caste of the offender and the person offended and goes too far in this.

(iii) While in Civil offences, examining of the competence of witnesses is very much necessary, examining the competence of

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1. According to the opinion of Dr. P. V. Kane. However, our opinion is that Manu belongs to the fourth century B. C., for which vide our Thesis 'Reconstruction of the Original Interpretation of Manusmṛti.'
2. Vide *Śākuntala* : न कश्चिद् वर्णानामपथमपकृष्टोऽपि भजते । V. 10 and also the ill-treatment of the fisherman in Act. VI. In fact, Manu believes in the same and therefore is probably stiff with the Śūdras and permits looseness in the lower castes as inherent in them.

witnesses in case of the criminal offences is not necessary[1] and no restrictions with regard to the witnesses need be adhered to in the criminal cases. This is because, as Manu states, tracing the culprit at all costs and tracing him at once is absolutely necessary. Then it is that the question of fixing the seriousness of the offence arises.

(iv) In addition to healthiness of individual and social morality and full protection and safety to all, married women in particular, from habitual criminals, is the main factor governing the criminal law that he has laid down. Manu expected a very high standard of morality to be preserved by the King and morals are the primary concern in criminal law of Manu.

(v) His idea of justice in criminal plaints is that no criminal shall under any circumstance, escape punishment. He takes for granted that in every society there are some persons who are habitual criminals and Manu wants the King to guard the subjects against these.[2]

(vi) His punishments are deterrent, preventive, retributory all combined into one because Manu believes that fear of law, power and punishment is the very basis of good behaviour on part of all persons,[3] the criminal offenders in particular. Manu goes to the extent of stressing that it is next to impossible to come across a man who is perfectly pure,[4] in a society. He at the same time wants that law may give chance of repentance and non-repetition of offence and that a very harsh punishment inflicted once will set a positive example for the criminal as also for all others.

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1. Vide M. S., 8. 72
साहसेषु च सर्वेषु स्तेयसंग्रहणेषु च ।
वाग्दण्डयोश्च पारुष्ये न परीक्षेत साक्षिणः ॥
2. Vide Adh. 8.
3. Vide M. S., 7. 22
सर्वो दण्डजितो लोको दुर्लभो हि शुचिर्नरः ।
4. दुर्लभो हि शुचिर्नरः ।

(vii) This explains the rather harsh punishments that Manu has laid down even for rather small and minor offences from our point of view[1] and the rule is 'Eye for an Eye' and 'Tooth for a Tooth' and severest punishments including mutilation of limbs and death are laid down for many of the offences. The penalty of death is not rare in Manu.

(viii) Even here, punishments are expected to vary according to the upper or the lower caste of the offender and the offended; the Brhamaṇa is free from corporal punishment, mutilation of limbs and capital punishment[3] and he has several other concessions in punishments.

(ix) The legal procedure is fairly regular and systematic and it takes proper care to see that the innocent are not held as offenders and punished.

(x) There is scope even for a re-trial in a case in which later on some positive evidence is traced and an offender who might have escaped will be punished in re-trial[4] while a man who has furnished false evidence will also be punished.[5] Yet, it is to be noted that much is left to the understanding and sweet will of the king and there is always the possibility of punishment being inflicted just on the sweet will of the king. Here there is ample scope for development.

(xi) The king is the highest authority in legal matters and there are fixed stages of the legal rights of various heads. This might also lead us to conclude that in all probability, there was scope for appeal to a higher court and there could be appeal for

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1. M. S., 8th Adh , criminal titles
2. M. S., 8. 279 to 285
3. M. S., In the treatment of दण्डपारुष्य, स्तेय, स्त्रीसंग्रहण ।
4. Y. S., Vyavahāra Adhyāya
5. Y. S., II. 82, 83, 84.

mercy of the king. Of course in all these matters that are generalised as probables, the king has over-riding rights.[1]

(xii) In case of theft, a man can be arrested even on suspicion and if tried, he has to prove his innocence. The burden of proof will thus fall on the man held and tried on suspicion. Still, it is clear that with regard to burden of proof in various criminal plaints, Manu is not clear and here also, there is ample scope for development.

Transition to Yājñavalkya

The position remains the same in some matters and evolves in certain others when it comes to transition of the state of criminal law from Manu to Yāj avalkya. Actually Manu is accepted as the prime authority on Dharmaśāstra by Yājñavalkya and therefore, it is true to state that Yājñavalkya follows Manu in the work that he writes. He is not yet a blind follower of Manu and with the background of the evolution of the Hindu society and the evolution of the concept of law and criminal law for about three hundred years, there is a positive state of development. We shall here examine the development of criminal law from Manu to Yājñavalkya.

As we for guidance note the development in legal approach in general, we find in Yājñavalkya that :

(i) Law becomes more of law proper and more exact and systematic, it is now more rational and scientific.

(ii) The emphasis on the moral side of law has considerably lessened and there is a positive evolution of court law towards becoming amoral. The emphasis on individual and social morality is losing ground and Yājñavalkya does not lay down that there are some persons who are criminals habitually or that it is impossible to come across a person who is perfectly pure in a society. Protection of the body and honour of men and women and their full safety is

1. Y. S., II. Prakaraṇas 1 to 5

the primary concern of the law-writer and the greater protection of women is not very much emphasised, much less the protection of married women.

In order to study the evolution, we shall first of all note the views of Yājñavalkya regarding court-proceedings. His views are as follows : - (i) Though much desired, distinction between cognisable and non-cognisable offences is not specified yet. But, catching of the offenders at all costs and under right legal methods is laid down. The position however is that a suit can be tried in a court of law only when there is some complaint by some party.[1] This refers to cases of murder, adultery, rape, theft, defamation, assault etc.

(ii) Unlike Manu, Yājñavalkya now. permits mutual accusation in criminal plaints—defamation, assault, adultery, rape in particular.[2]

(iii) The clear cut statement that while there can be delay in trying civil suits, the criminal ones are to be tried at once and without delay, is a positive advance on Manu[3] and this creates greater possibilities for tracing the offenders and not allowing anyone to escape.

(iv) This distinction is based on the distinction between *Sādhāraṇa* and *Asādhāraṇa Vyavahāra* in his work.[4] While this is a positive advance on Manu in that this traces the comparative importance and seriousness of various cases, it also in a general way refers, to the special procedure code for serious criminal and some civil offences.[5]

(v) The distinction between Civil and Criminal offences is, in Yājñavalkya more or less full and clear, unlike Manu.

1. Y. S., II. 5
2. Y. S., II. 10
3. Y. S., II. 12; M. S., I. 39
4. Y. S., II. Prakaraṇas 1 and 2
5. Vide as in 19

(vi) Punishments of jail etc. in Civil offences are lessening and the heaviness of fines is also going down. There is thus an acceptance that physical and similar punishments are to be inflicted for physical and similar wrongs only, that is, for criminal offences only.

(vii) Yājñavalkya has not developed the courage to differ from Manu openly or to criticise him as such and his insistence that he follows Manu stands valid, and he therefore approves punishments according to caste and accepts higher and lower punishments accordingly, and the Brāhmaṇa escapes with rather lighter punishments in most of the cases, the rigidity has lessened[1], the excessive anxiety for special treatment of the Brāhmaṇa in all respects is no more to be found.[2] While Manu's seems to be a very careful, repeated and constant care to give very high and special privileges to the Brāhmaṇa and to the learned one in particular, the treatment in Yājñavalkya is short, mechanical and just conventional, suggesting as if that Yājñavalkya is not very serious or insistent about it. This is an indirect acceptance personally by the later Smṛtikāra that in the eyes of law, all are absolutely equal.

(viii) The emphasis on the moral aspect of law has considerably lessened in Yājñavalkya. Thus, the view of Manu would be very much near to those of Mill when he states that "The moral rules which forbid men to hurt one another (including wrongful interference with each other's freedom) are more vital to human well-being than any maxims however important, which point out the best mode of managing some department of human affairs they

1. The tone in general is such that Yājñavalkya seems to lay down the special privileges of the Brāhmaṇas just in order to follow and to show that he just follows Manu. For this Vide Yājñavalkya's treatment of the Criminal Offences.
2. As in 21

determine the social feeling needed to preserve peace, they are indispensable conditions of all other good.[1] Yājñavalkya has now become more technical, legal and even mechanical. It is known that Kauṭilya permitted gambling and betting and brought it under state control.[2] Manu totally prohibitted the same.[3] Yājñavalkya now permits it again and brings it under state control and there too the control is mainly to see that the revenue due to the state is not lost.[4] This is one of the surest indications of our contention. That attitude also explains the lessening of harshness in the punishments, the option of fines in case of many of the punishments, even though mutilation of limbs[5] and death[6] continue as punishments for offences of very serious nature, many of them being even serious moral lapses. The important thing to be noted is that the outlook has considerably changed and now law is becoming law proper.

(ix) The transition also shows that now law, legal procedure and punishments have become very much more scientific, technical, detailed, systematic and complex. The separate and detailed treatment of *Sādhāraṇavyavahāramātṛkā* and *Asādhāraṇavyavahāramātṛkās* and several other details regarding the giving of evidence, less insistence on the examination of the competence of the witnesses, the exposition of truth in every case now becoming a more or less strictly legal affair and so on are proofs of this. Thus, strictly from the legal point of view, Yājñavalkya is our first thoroughly scientific and rational and technical giver of court-law, even though he has never disrespected the authority of

1. Quoted in 'On Justice in Society', Ginsberg, p. 60
2. Vide Arthaśāstra III
3. M. S., 9-221, 224, 227
4. Y. S., II. Prakaraṇa 16
5. Y. S., II. 274, 281, 282, 283, 285, 286 etc.
6. Y. S., II. 220, 224, 232, 274, 278 etc.

Manu, our first ever law-giver. The process had started of course with the examination of the technicalities of law in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*,[1] but many facts in his treatment show that law was in its infancy in Kauṭilya and criminal law in particular was not fully under the control of the law-courts.[2] The courts in Kautilya, as we have already seen in our chapter on Kauṭilīya *Arthaśāstra*, were different with Civil plaints and the Criminal ones known as *Kaṇṭakaśodhana* and there was lesser scope for the alleged criminal to protect himself and greater was the responsibility of the प्रदेष्टृ to trace the truth so that the person held on suspicion did not suffer wrongly.[3]

The above statements may now be expanded and clarified on the basis of a few references from Yājñavalkya's treatment of the criminal titles in his section on *Vyavahāra*.

(A) As we have already seen earlier, Manu strictly prohibits Gambling and Betting and he wants the king to keep carefully these two immoral things away from the state[4] and to inflict the severest punishments on gamblers etc.[5], not to speak of the various penances that are additionally laid down for such offenders.[6] This is because in Manu's firm opinion, these two are the causes of the destruction of kingship and its greatness[7] and because these two are nothing short of public thefts. He therefore shows no interest in the revenue that the state treasury would have from Gambling if permitted. Now, the two as they are, are not offences, though any irregularity in these might be so and they do

1. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, III.
2. Vide Kangle, *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*, Part III.
3. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, IV.
4. M. S., 9. 221, 224, 227.
5. M. S., As in 4 above
6. M. S., Chaps. 9 and 10
7. M. S., As in 4 above, Y. S., II. 199 to 203

not need harsh punishments. Gamblers and gambling-houses are now licensed and their regularity and legal functioning are watched over by an officer of the king who will naturally watch and see to it that all dues of the state from permitted gambling come regularly. Certain rules are fixed by the state and the gambling-houses shall run accordingly.[1] The king will naturally charge heavy duties from gamblers and the gambling houses and this will naturally be a substantially important addition to the state revenues.[2]

(B) In Manu, we see that in most of the cases of *Vākpāruṣya*, very heavy fines are laid down and these are again based on the higher or the lower status of the caste of the offender or the other party.[3] In the offences of D*aṇḍapāruṣya* again, very severe fines, ruthless mutilation of limbs, fine etc., come for most of the offences[4] particularly when the offended person is a Brāhmaṇa and the offender is a śūdra.[5] Rules of law in these criminal cases is eye for the eye and tooth for the tooth and Manu specifically states that,

येन केनचिदङ्गेन हिंस्याच्छ्रेष्ठमन्त्यजः ।
छेत्तव्यं तत्तदेवास्य तन्मनोरनुशासनम् ॥ 8·279

This whole harshness almost disappears in Yājñavalkya and the punishments[6] instead of being revengeful have now become matter of fact, even though Yāj. II. 215 states that when there is an assault on a Brāhmaṇa, the offending limb in case of the non-Brāhma-a is to be mutilated.

(C) In the eyes of law, the śūdra has now become a fair equal of the Vaiśya and even the Kṣatriya to a considerable extent

1. Yājñavalkya, II. Prakaraṇa 16
2. M. S., 8. 267-277
3. M. S., 8. 267-277
4. M. S., 8. 278-300
5. M. S., 8. 279-281
6. M. S., 8. 279

and law now becomes more reasonable, cold and rational. This uplift of the Śūdra in the eyes of law is a very important development in Ancient Hindu Law, the criminal in particular. Manu and Kauṭilya did not permit a higher status to the Śūdra even though Kauṭilya is not as ruthless and ferocious as Manu in his condemnation of the Śūdra. The higher status of the Brāhmaṇa in the eyes of law continues in Nārada also, but, the position of the Śūdra has definitely improved in Yājñavalkya.[1] It reflects the growing enlightenment in the eyes of our ancient sociologists and law-givers that in the eyes of law, all are expected to be equal, and this is specifically laid down by Nārada.

(D) Punishments for *Vākpāruṣya*[2] and D*aṇḍpāruṣya*[3] are now more in the form of fines and only in serious cases severe punishments are laid down.

(E) Again, a careful distinction between serious and light thefts is now made and harsh and ruthless punishments are laid down now only for very serious cases of theft.[4] Death in cases of thefts is a penalty only for theft plus assault or physical injury of serious nature endangering life of the property-holder or his watchman or the jailor etc. (*Yāj*. II. 273).[5] Again, mutilation of limbs also continues and all this shows Yājñavalkya's more of anxiety for the protection of private property rather than for upholding individual and social morals and so on. He therefore does

1. M. S. त्रिप्रपीडाकरं छेद्यमङ्गमब्राह्मणस्य तु ।
2. M. S., 8. 267-277; Y. S., II, Prakaraṇa 17
3. M. S., 8. 278-300; Y. S., II, Prakaraṇa 18
4. Y. S., II, Prakaraṇa 22
5. Y. S., II. 273. बन्दिग्राहांस्तथा वाजिकुञ्जराणां च हारिणः ।
प्रसह्यघातिनश्चैव शूलानारोपयेन्नरान् ॥

not lay down as emphatically as Manu[1] does again and again that if the king fails to trace the thief, he shall have to pay fully the person whose property is stolen. Yājñavalkya's greater emphasis is on the moral aspect and the king, who was a legal head plus the protector of the people from dangers to property and so on, now becomes more of a legal head as far as the legal procedure in case of the criminal offences is concerned. Protection of the people and their morals and their full safety etc., now become indirect aspects. The whole emphasis has thus changed and few details regarding duty of the king to trace a thief and punish him and the grave consequences that follow in case of his failure to do so, are found in Yājñavalkya.

(F) Even in the case of punishments for Rape and Adultery that come under *Strīsaṁgrahaṇa*,[2] the writer has become more rational, detailed and systematic. The harshness of the punishments including mutilation of limbs still continues though with lesser intensity and Yājñavalkya is more realistic, reasonable, careful and steady and most of the punishments for the offences of Rape and Adultery are in form of fines etc.[3] The influence of caste as a determining factor continues though to a much lesser degree, but in certain cases like sex-contact with a willing unmarried girl, Yājñavalkya sees no offence, though for copulation with slave-girls etc., punishments are laid down in form of fines etc.[4] unlike Manu and in line with Kauṭilya, though not with his genuine sympathy. The principle of severe punishments in extreme cases of offences

1. M. S., 8. 304, 316
2. M. S., 8. 354 onwards; Y. S., II, Prakaraṇa 23
3. Y. S., II, Prakaraṇa 23
4. Y. S., II. 294-295

continues but there is far greater reason and greater liberality and the feeling that the human being is always likely to err. The clear fact is that the definition of CRIME is in a sure process of change and in the process of coming nearer to the view of Cecil Binny "......and the only adequate definition of crime is an act which is by law punishable."[1]

These interesting cases and many other arguments will show to us very clearly that law continues to change and evolve with the passing of time and Gajendragadkar is right in his assessment when he states that "In recognizing custom as the source of law, Hindu law accepted the basic concept that with the changing customs at different times and in different places law must change and that explains the existence of different schools of Hindu law prevailing in the country."[2] Hindu jurists and Hindus were never sticky or blind to the necessity of change and never allowed law to become static. If there is a change in and advance on the outlook from Manu to Yājñavalkya, it shows, not only respect of tradition and a constant change in tradition, but also change in the outlook and leanings of men and a constant evolution of the society and a changing understanding of the needs of the individual and society. As a law-giver, when Yājñavalkya changes his approach and outlook, it betrays the changing approach and outlook of the society as a whole and an advance in the society regarding conception of law and punishment. Gajendragadkar is therefore again right as far as law is concerned when he states that "The existence of these different schools and sub-schools emphatically points to the fact that though Hindu Law purported to be based on the ancient *Śrutis* and the *Smṛtis*, it never became static; it was always dynamic and was prepared to make necessary adjustments to meet the changing requirements of changing customs and beliefs in diffe-

1. 'Crime and Abnormality', p. 1
2. 'Law, Liberty and Justice', p. 18

rent areas."[1] We would, however, add to this that the constant evolution in the society in the sphere of law and concept of punishment is not only due to the changing custom and beliefs but also due to the advance in culture, the changing values of life and honour of human beings, the changing sense of morals and the infliction of these on law, and so on. If we were to examine the outlook of Kauṭilya, Manu and Yājñavalkya and later on of Nārada, we find that finding out of truth at all costs has remained the fundamental fact with law, and the approach to the rights and privileges of the plaintiff and the defendent have always changed and evolved. The relation of law with morals has also constantly changed and so has changed the concept of relation of man's sense of guilt with regard to certain acts. It is interesting to note that even in the concept of morality, Hindu society has always changed though some values, as they should do, have remained the same for a very long time. In the sphere of law, as in all spheres of man's life, the views of the Hindus have been guided by a few basic values that have been prevalent more or less throughout the country and that have not changed much with the passing of time and many other values that have gone on constantly changing. The concept of law, even with the *Smṛti* of Yājñavalkya, shows positive signs of coming to a stage when the view of Binny will apply to it that "Now punishment implies guilt and guilt implies mental capacity, for whatever evil of his act no rational system of law will punish as guilty a man bereft of understanding......and to treat him as a criminal belongs to a bygone age which thought of crime as involving some form of pollution or outrage on nature rather than culpability."[2] The sense of pollution in case of criminals that we find in Manu has very much disappeared even with next writer, Yājñavalkya.

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1. 'Law, Liberty and Justice'., p. 19
2. 'Crime and Abnormality', p. 1

We thus see that,

(i) Where Manu is more of a lover of truth and an upholder of morality and thoroughly conscious of the duties of the King towards the subjects and has a keen sense of the protection of the body and honour of the subjects, the womenfolk in particular and there too particularly the married ones, Yājña-valkya is more legal, rational, partly liberal towards the weeknesses of human beings, considerate and less leaning towards the theory of 'eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth.' In his work, therefore, the science of jurisprudence takes positive steps towards becoming an independent science.

(ii) To Manu, law is primarily an upholder of individual and social morality while to Yājñavalkya, it is now more or less a science of Law and it is therefore becoming an unmoral or amoral science and he worries mainly for the protection of the individuals, their property, their honour and so on. He is on the path that leads to Hindu Law becoming pure Law, a pure science and that only.

(iii) The sense of vengeance that we find in Manu towards the criminal accused and offender and the use of the words calling him a sinner and so on are not to be found in Yajñavalkya. Now has arisen the tendency when even the accused is a human being and he is to be punished justly and without venom and hatred.

(iv) Manu believes that there cannot be good behaviour, obedience and goodness in individuals without the fright of punish-ments, without the fear of *Daṇḍv*,[1] but Yājñavalkya seems to emphasise more the right of individuals to lead a decent life, a life of full safety and honour as citizens of a good decent state. He does not very much agree with the view that,

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1. M. S., 7-22 सर्वो दण्डजितो लोको दुर्लभो हि शुचिर्नरः।

"All men on earth are won over or kept under check by Daṇḍa (and the fear that it creates) because it is difficult to come across a man who is (completely) pure, etc."[1]

The view that "Justice in the broadest sense consists in the ordering of human relations in accordance with general principles impartially applied,"[2] is gaining ground. Yājñavalkya is of course not opposed to the view that "In fact the law of a society and particularly the criminal law, embodies the moral attitudes prevalent in that society and cannot, in the long run, be made effective without appealing to these attitudes."[3] What is significant is that morality is now only indirectly connected with law and it is in the background, while coming to the forefront is the importance of law as a science, and one that works with no hatred even towards the accused.

(v) Manu wants punishments to become retributive, expiatory and deterrent all combined. To Yājñavalkya, the punishments are now mainly retributive.

(vi) With the fact that to Yājñavalkya, punishments are mainly retributive, Hindu Law-givers, the jurists were thoroughly conscious of the reformative side and its necessity. They knew the dangers of mere punishments even though they laid down very severe ones. They accepted the fact that something should be done by which a man who commits an offence once shall not commit an offence and they therefore evolved the idea of penances, the details of which are the most elaborate and minute in Manu, and they fully apply to the criminal offenders. Manu states that,

प्रायो नाम तपः प्रोक्तं चित्तं निश्चय उच्यते ।
तपोनिश्चयसंयुक्तं प्रायश्चित्तं विदुर्बुधाः ॥[4]

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1. M. S., 7-22
2. Morris Ginsberg, 'On Justice and Society', p. 56
3. Morris Ginsberg, 'On Justice and Society', p. 218
4. M. S., 9

Prāyas means *Tapas* and *Cittam* means decision or firm resolve. What is known as *Prāyaścittam* is *Tapas* plus firm resolve." (This means feeling deeply repentant for the offences committed and then a firm resolve not to repeat the same in future.) Manu specifically lays down both legal punishments and penances. A man who undergoes these penances has no escape from legal punishments. The ends of law can be met only by punishments. But, the theory of penances is what Manu feels to be the remedy for the offenders, who may not repeat the offences in future. Yājñavalkya, in his chapter on *Prāyaścittas*, gives full details of these, but we clearly find that they are separated from court law and he lays down these just mechanically probably only because these have come in Manu. To him they are not important for the criminal offenders and he does not very much believe in this sort of reformative theory.

(vii) We can thus see that the outlook on law and punishments is last changing and changing almost immediately alter Manu, the conventionally accepted prime law-giver of the country. It is here interesting to note that so many views of Kautilya, that Manu did not accept, are now finding acceptance by Yājñavalkya and now law is assuming a more systematic, scientific and legal form. It tends to do greater justice than Manu to the accused, though the offended party is in no way under-valued. Here, the most interesting aspect is that Kautilya's tendency to insist on absolute impartiality of the judges, on their being absolutely equal both to the enemy and friend, and to treat of the law in a cool fact-finding manner, comes to its own again and better it is that the criminal titles have also come under the control of the Dharmasthīya courts with their most elaborate legal procedure and fullest protection possible to the accused also.

The transition and development of law and the concept of law and the theory of punishment is clear in its evolution from Manu to Yājñavalkya and it is destined to come to its finest and the most systematic development in Nārada.

सांख्य विवेचन

श्रीमती भगवती

डेकार्ट-दर्शन और सांख्य-दर्शन द्वैतवादी दर्शन है। यद्यपि इन दर्शनों में कुछ अनुरूपताएँ भी देखी जा सकती हैं, किन्तु ये नितान्त ऊपरी हैं, अन्यथा ये अत्यन्त भिन्न प्रकार के दर्शन हैं। ये ऊपरी अनुरूपताएँ दो हैं—एक यह कि ये दोनों दर्शन आध्यात्मिक द्वैतवादी हैं और दूसरी यह कि ये पुरुषबहुत्ववादी हैं। किन्तु वास्तव में डेकार्ट के लिए 'आध्यात्मिक' पद का प्रयोग केवल सीमित रूप में ही किया जा सकता है, और दूसरी ओर, उसमें पुरुष-बहुत्व एक दार्शनिक प्रश्न या समस्या नहीं है क्योंकि उसमें पुरुष (आत्म) का स्वरूप ही इस प्रकार कल्पित है कि उसमें यह एक आनुषंगिक आपादन है। इसके विपरीत, सांख्य अध्यात्मवादी दर्शन है और पुरुष-बहुत्व उसके मूल प्रश्नों में से एक है। वास्तव में इन दर्शनों में असमानताएँ या विपरीतताएँ मूलगामी हैं और इनकी दृष्टि से ही इनमें तुलना अत्यन्त रोचक हो सकती है।

डेकार्ट के विपरीत सांख्यीय चैतन्य स्वरूप-विश्रान्त, निष्क्रिय सत्ता है,[१] प्रकृति डेकार्ट के अनुरूप जड़ तो है किन्तु उसके विपरीत निष्क्रिय नहीं होकर सक्रिय है। वास्तव में सांख्य की जड़ता की अवधारणा भी डेकार्ट से मूलतः भिन्न और अत्यधिक सूक्ष्म और गम्भीर है। डेकार्टीय चैतन्य अथवा आत्म का समावेश यहाँ प्रकृति के ही अन्तर्गत है और वह उचित ही है। डेकार्टीय चैतन्य मानवीय है और इस प्रकार ईश्वराश्रित है, किन्तु सांख्यीय चैतन्य निरवच्छिन्न और निरुपाधिक है और स्वरूप-विश्रान्त सत्ता है। इसी प्रकार डेकार्टीय प्रकृति पराक्, चेतनान्तर्गत प्रत्यय के अनुरूप और उसकी समानान्तर सत्ता है और प्रत्यय चेतना-धर्मी है, इसके विपरीत सांख्यीय प्रकृति प्रत्यक् और पराक् उभयविध, पुरुष से पूर्णतः भिन्न,[२] स्वरूप स्थित किन्तु पुरुष के अर्थ[३] सत्ता है, और प्रत्यय प्रकृति-धर्मी है। किन्तु डेकार्ट और सांख्य में आधारभूत दार्शनिक पदावली में निरूपणीय अन्तर यह है कि डेकार्ट का चित्

१. प्रेक्षकवत्स्थितः स्वस्थः, का० ६५।
२. त्रिगुणादि विपर्ययात्, का० १७
३. संघातपरार्थत्वात्, वही

आत्मप्रकाशक क्रिया है और उसका स्वरूप बौद्धिक है। इसका विषय भी इसी के भीतर स्थित प्रत्यय है और इसलिए उसका आत्म अपने से बाहर कुछ नहीं जानता। प्रकृति केवल इस प्रत्यय के सत्य होने के लिए आवश्यक है और इस प्रकार यह आनुषंगिक और आनीत कल्पना है तथा दार्शनिक दृष्टि से अत्यधिक बालिश है। इसके विपरीत सांख्यीय चित् प्रकाश स्वरूप है, बुद्धि और अहंकार (कोजिटो-सम) आदि इसके स्वरूपगत नहीं होकर विषय हैं, विषयमात्र प्रकृति और इस प्रकार जड़ है और अतएव आत्म-प्रकाशकत्व, एक प्रकार का विषय होने से, आत्मोपाधि है, आत्म या पुरुष नहीं।

सांख्यीय प्रकृति की कल्पना बहुत सूक्ष्म और जटिल है। चैतन्य स्वरूपतः निरपेक्ष और शुद्ध प्रकाशस्वरूप है और विषयी रूप में शुद्ध द्रष्टृभाव है। प्रकृति स्वरूपतः विषयभाव है। ये विषयिभाव और विषयभाव परस्पर सापेक्ष सत्ताएँ नहीं हैं, ये निरपेक्ष हैं, यद्यपि विषयभाव की निरपेक्षता स्वतः नहीं है, यह उसकी व्याकृत स्थिति है।[1] ज्ञानमीमांसात्मक पदावली में, ये दो निरपेक्ष अवधारणाएँ हैं। इस निरपेक्षता में चैतन्य शुद्ध प्रकाशस्वरूप है, यह न आत्म-प्रकाशक है और न विषय-प्रकाशक; और प्रकृति अव्यक्त, अनिर्वच, नितान्त सामान्यात्मक जड़त्व है।[2] किन्तु यह प्राप्त वस्तुस्थिति नहीं है, प्राप्त वस्तुस्थिति में विषय-विषयिभाव संश्लिष्ट और सापेक्ष है। इस संश्लिष्ट या प्राप्त रूप को सांख्य ने व्यक्त प्रकृति भी कहा है। व्यक्त प्रकृति आत्म (पुरुष) और अनात्म (प्रकृति) के बीच अविवेक का परिणाम है किन्तु इस अविवेक का अधिष्ठान पुरुष में नहीं होकर प्रकृति में ही है।[3] इस अविवेक के कारण अव्यक्त प्रकृति, जो कि अनात्म है, आत्म उपाधि के साथ व्यक्त होती है। किन्तु क्योंकि यह वास्तव में विषय है इसलिए यह विषयात्म रूप है, अर्थात् यह अपने को ज्ञाता और ज्ञेय, विषयी और विषय उभयविध रूप में प्रकट करती है। दूसरे शब्दों में, प्रकृति आत्मोपाधि धारण कर अपने को अपने लिए व्यक्त करती है, अथवा कहें, यह ऐसा विषयी है जो अपना विषय भी है, ऐसा द्रष्टा है जो अपने को दृश्य भी है। सांख्य के अनुसार प्रकृति की यह अभिव्यक्ति विभिन्न स्तरीय है और इन विभिन्न स्तरों को कारण-कार्य रूप में और इस प्रकार वास्तव-सत् माना है। किन्तु सांख्य के सत्कार्यवादी होने से ये भेद नव्योत्पत्ति नहीं होकर स्तर-भेद मात्र हैं, यद्यपि सांख्य ने इसके लिए लिंग (जननात्मक) शब्द का प्रयोग किया है।

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१. का० ५६-६५ २. का० १६

३. का० ३७

अभिव्यक्ति का एक दूसरा पक्ष भी है, जो आत्मोपाधि-रूप नहीं होकर शुद्ध प्रस्तुत-रूप है। यह प्रकृति-विकार नहीं होकर प्रतिभास (फिनोमिना) मात्र है, जिसके लिए सांख्य ने भाव शब्द का प्रयोग किया है। इस भाव या प्रतिभास की प्रकृति में तात्त्विक सत्ता नहीं है, यह आत्मोपाधिभूत प्रकृति में अन्तर्वस्तु (कांटेंट) होकर प्रस्तुत-विषय रूप में आभासित होता है। अथवा कहें, आत्मोपाधिभूत विकृतियाँ अपने-अपने लक्षणों के अनुरूप विषय-प्रस्ताव, विषयाक्षेप करती हैं। उदाहरणतः बुद्धि के अन्तर्वस्तु-भूत विषय सामान्य हैं और ऊर्ध्वोन्मुख अथवा आत्मोन्मुख वृत्ति में विषय विवेक है, मनस् के विषय राग-द्वेषात्मक प्रत्यय हैं और सेन्द्रिय शरीरात्म का विषय देश-कालात्मक वस्तुजगत् है। इस प्रकार सांख्य के अनुसार बुद्धि अहंकार मनस् इन्द्रियाँ तन्मात्र और पंचमहाभूत प्रकृति के आत्मोपाधिभूत परिणाम हैं। इस उपाधि से वियुक्त होने पर ये बुद्धि के परम सामान्य विषय (अहंकार सामान्य, ऐंद्रिकता सामान्य आदि) हैं[1]। इस प्रकार आकाशादि की शब्द-लक्षणता आदि देहात्म में संवेद और देश-काल में संवेद्य का रूप लेते हैं। इसी प्रकार, आस्वाद्य वस्तु रस-तन्मात्र की विकृति नहीं होकर आत्मौपाधिक जल महाभूत की प्रातिभासिक अभिव्यक्ति है।

सांख्य की हमारी इस व्याख्या पर सन्देह हो सकता है, क्योंकि तन्मात्र और महाभूत भौतिक विश्व की उत्पत्ति के कारण हो सकते हैं, और वास्तव में के० सी० भट्टाचार्य[2] को छोड़कर सांख्य के अन्य सभी व्याख्याकारों ने भौतिक विश्व को महाभूतों से निर्मित विशिष्ट वस्तुओं के समवाय के रूप में ही देखा है। किन्तु सांख्य की यह साधारण व्याख्या भ्रामक प्रतीत होती है। इसकी भ्रामकता के लिए दो तर्क दिये जा सकते हैं—प्रथम तो यह कि सांख्य के अनुसार प्रकृति में विक्षोभ और परिणामतः विकार इस मूल अविद्या से उत्पन्न होता है कि यह (प्रकृति) आत्म से अभिन्न है। इसलिए महत् (बुद्धि) से महाभूतपर्यन्त विकास इस अभेद के रूप में, आत्मोपाधि के रूप में, ही होता है, जिसका अर्थ है कि महाभूत आत्मोपाधिभूत देह के उपादान हैं, बाह्य विषय के नहीं, यद्यपि प्रातिभासिक जगत् का स्वलक्षण तत्त्व (थिंग इन इटसेल्फ) पंचमहाभूत ही हैं। दूसरे, पंचतन्मात्र, जो कि पंचमहाभूतों के कारण हैं, सूक्ष्म शरीर के उपादान हैं, भौतिक वस्तुओं के सूक्ष्म उपादान नहीं हैं। तब इसका अर्थ होगा कि प्रस्तुत विषय-रूप शरीर—मेरा शरीर, उसका शरीर—प्रकृति-विकार नहीं होकर प्रातिभासिक हैं, केवल आत्मौपाधिक शरीर महाभूतोत्पन्न हैं और इस उपाधि का निराकरण इसे पंचमहाभूतों की प्रातिभासिक अभिव्यक्ति के रूप में बदल देता है। अर्थात् आत्मौपाधिक पंचमहाभूत शरीराधिष्ठान में प्रातिभासिक विश्व के लिए विषयी है, सांख्य के शब्दों में, वह भोगायतन है, और विवेकी बुद्धि के लिए यह प्रकृति-विकार (पंचमहाभूत) मात्र है।

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१. का० ५२

२. द्रष्टव्य—स्टडीज़ इन फिलासफी।

प्रातिभासिक विश्व देश-कालात्मक है और देश-काल स्वयं प्रातिभासिक हैं, प्रकृति-विकार नहीं हैं। देश-कालात्मक विश्व के प्रातिभासिक होने से देश-कालात्मक शरीर को भी प्रातिभासिक ही मानना होगा, जिसका अर्थ है कि शरीर की दो सत्ताएं हैं—विकृतिमूलक और प्रातिभासिक। मांस-मज्जानिर्मित शरीर प्रातिभासिक है और आत्मौपाधिक शरीर विकृतिमूलक। प्रकृति में इस विषयि-विषय रूप द्विविधता को सांख्य ने लिंग और भाव कहा है।[1]

यहाँ कुछ स्पष्टीकरण अपेक्षित है। यद्यपि सांख्य ने महत् आदि विकारों को आनुक्रमिक परिणाम के रूप में देखा है और इसे कारण-कार्यात्मक भी कहा है, किन्तु इस क्रम को काल-क्रम के रूप में देखना अनुचित होगा। इसके लिए दो तर्क दिये जा सकते हैं, एक तो यह कि इस परिणाम को काल-क्रमात्मक मानने का अर्थ होगा काल को इस परिणाम से स्वतंत्र और अधिक मौलिक सत्ता-मानना, अथवा प्रकृति के समकक्ष मानना। किन्तु यह प्रथम विकल्प भी वास्तव में विकल्प नहीं है, क्योंकि काल से कुछ 'पूर्व' या 'उत्तर' नहीं हो सकता। इस प्रकार, विकार-क्रम को कालात्मक मान लेने पर काल को तृतीय मूल तत्त्व मानना होगा। इसके समर्थन में एक और तर्क यह दिया जा सकता है कि सांख्य ने अविद्या, और इस प्रकार संसार को, अनादि माना है। अनादि होने से कोई विकास-क्रम आरम्भ नहीं हुआ हो सकता, इसलिए इस क्रम को कालात्मक नहीं मानकर तार्किक मानना अधिक उचित है। क्रम को तार्किक मानने से यह मानना उचित होगा कि सम्पूर्ण परिणाम का आविर्भाव युगपत् होता है। इस आविर्भाव को संसार के बीच व्यक्ति का अवतरण भी कह सकते हैं। बुद्धि से पंचमहाभूत पर्यन्त विकृति वैयक्तिकता से अविच्छिन्न होकर प्रातिभासिक विश्व और उसके विषयी जीव का एक-साथ कारण बनती है। यह विषयी अनिवार्यतः सापेक्ष विषयी है क्योंकि यह प्रतिभास का प्रतिपक्ष मात्र है। इसी से यह प्रकृति है। किन्तु यह पुरुष अथवा निरपेक्ष आत्म से भी संयुक्त है जिसका आभास यह मननात्मक वृत्ति में पाता है। वास्तव में प्रकृति में आत्मोपाधि की उत्पत्ति का यही रहस्य है, यह द्विविधाकर्षण है, अन्यथा प्रकृति महाभूतों के अतिरिक्त कोई परिणाम उत्पन्न नहीं कर सकती थी।

यह विषयि अथवा आत्म-भाव भौतिक देह तक व्याप्त है। सांख्य की इस दृष्टि को उचित महत्त्व नहीं दिया गया है और भौतिक देह को विषय ही मान लिया गया है। किन्तु भौतिक देह आत्मोपाधिक देह भी है और इस रूप में यह संवेद-लक्षण तथा दैशिक विषयों की विनियोजक है। यह देह वास्तव में देहाभिमान या

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१. न विना भावेन लिंगम्, न विना लिंगेन भावनिवृत्तिः।
लिंगाख्यो भावाख्यः तस्मात्, द्विविधः प्रवर्तते सर्गः। सां० का० ५२।

विषयि देह है, दृश्य, स्पृश्य लक्षणों वाली देह नहीं है। यह साधनभूत देह भी नहीं है, अर्थात् "मैंने अपने हाथ से खाना खाया" अथवा 'चेचक से मेरी आँख जाती रही' वाक्य इस देह के सम्बन्ध में नहीं हैं, यद्यपि खाना खाने में हाथ-मुँह की नियुक्ति और देखने की अयोग्यता इसी देह से सम्बन्धित हैं। देह के इस स्वरूप पर श्री कृष्ण चन्द्र भट्टाचार्य तथा श्री यशदेव शल्य ने बहुत सूक्ष्मपूर्ण प्रकाश डाला है। श्री शल्य के शब्दों में "हमारे सब दैशिक प्रत्यक्षों और विनियोजनों में आत्म शरीराधिष्ठित होकर वस्तु-ग्रहण करता है। किन्तु यह शरीराधिष्ठान स्वयं शरीर को वस्तु-रूप में प्राप्त नहीं करता—अर्थात् शरीर यहाँ वस्तुओं में एक वस्तु नहीं होता। यह केवल वस्तु से, उसके देश में अधिग्रहण के लिए, अनुमापित दूरी पर ली गयी एक स्थिति होती है, यह एक क्रिया-बिन्दु होता है जो स्वयं दैशिक हुए बिना सम्पूर्ण दैशिक विश्व का विनियोजन करता है।"[1] किन्तु शरीर का एक दैशिक रूप भी है, जिसके सम्बन्ध में शल्य जी कहते हैं "शरीर यद्यपि वस्त्वभिमुखता के अधिष्ठान के रूप में विस्तार-रहित केन्द्र मात्र होता है और इस प्रकार वस्तु-रूप होता है, किन्तु शरीर का दैशिक पक्ष भी है जो इसे अन्य वस्तुओं में एक वस्तु के रूप में स्थापित करता है। जब मैं वस्तु को हाथ में लेने के लिए आगे बढ़ता हूँ, और उपयुक्त स्थान पर रुक कर हाथ बढ़ाता हूँ, जब मैं अपने मित्र के घर जाने के लिए चल कर पहुँचने के समय का अनुमान करता हूँ, तब शरीर अभिमुखता का अविस्तृत बिन्दु होने के अतिरिक्त स्वयं दैशिक विषय भी होता है। किन्तु इसकी यह दैशिकता अन्य वस्तुओं की दैशिकता से प्रकारतः भिन्न होती है—इसके परिप्रेक्ष्य का केन्द्र गोचर पक्ष से निर्धारित नहीं होकर विनियोजन की वासना से निर्धारित होता है……।"[2]

इस प्रकार परम अनात्म-सत्ता-रूप सांख्यीय प्रकृति अविद्यावश आत्मोपाधि से उपहित होकर "मनुष्य के लिए संसार" रूप में परिणत होती है,[3] वेदान्त के समान यह पुरुष या चैतन्य कल्पित नहीं है। यह अविद्या और 'मनुष्य के लिए संसार रचना' किसी समय शून्य से आरम्भ नहीं होती, यह अनादि है। अविद्या-जन्य होने से यह दुःखात्मक और इस प्रकार मूल्य-चेतना-प्रविष्ट है, यद्यपि यह स्वयं मूल्य-विपर्यय (डिस्वैल्यू) है, अनादि होने से यह प्रयत्न-सिद्ध नहीं होकर चेतना की सहजात है, किन्तु आत्मोपाधि होने से यह आत्म-सम्बद्ध भी है। अर्थात् यद्यपि सांख्यीय पुरुष

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१. विषय और आत्म, दर्शन प्रतिष्ठान, जयपुर, १९७२ : पृ० १७
२. वही, पृ० १८
३. यद्यपि सांख्य आत्मोपाधिक सृष्टि को तिर्यगों से देवों तक मानता है (द्रष्टव्य का० ५३) किन्तु इन्हें उचित रूप में मनुष्य की ही निकृष्टतर और उत्कृष्टतर अवस्थाएँ मानना चाहिए, स्वतंत्र आत्मोपाधियाँ नहीं।

नितान्त अलिप्त और निष्क्रिय चैतन्य है[1] जो सृष्टि-क्रिया (मनुष्य के लिए संसार) में प्रकृति के साथ सम्मिलित नहीं होता, किन्तु प्रकृति की पीड़ा-दुःख और मोक्षाकांक्षा उसी को लेकर है।[2] अन्यथा भी, 'आत्मोपाधि' और 'अनात्म' शब्दों का कुछ अर्थ नहीं रहता, यदि मानव-संसार आत्म-सम्बद्ध नहीं होता। यह निष्कर्ष इस बात से और पुष्ट होता है कि सांख्य ने पुरुष की सत्ता "मोक्ष-प्रवृत्ति होने से" निगमित की है। सांख्य के अनुसार, यद्यपि मोक्ष-प्रवृत्ति बुद्धिमूलक ही है, क्योंकि पुरुष आविल हो ही नहीं सकता और इस प्रकार उसमें कोई प्रवृत्ति नहीं हो सकती, किन्तु यह प्रवृत्ति प्रकृति में अपने लिए नहीं हो सकती, यह पुरुष के लिए ही हो सकती है। दूसरे शब्दों में, परम मूल्य—आत्म—अनात्म संयुत तथा विकासमान या ऐतिहासिक नहीं है, यह स्वरूप विश्रान्त, निरपेक्ष और आत्म-पूर्ण सत्ता है। किन्तु तब भी, अनात्म के लिए यह नितान्त बाह्य और इतर नहीं है, यद्यपि सत्ता की दृष्टि से अनात्म स्वरूपस्थित निरपेक्ष तत्त्व ही है। अर्थात् सांख्य के अनुसार, अनात्म आत्मगत दोष नहीं है, किन्तु तब भी यह उससे सम्बद्ध, उसका निरूपक, उससे अवच्छिन्न और उसका व्यंजक है और अतएव इसका कार्य आत्म-अतिक्रमण तथा आत्म-विलयन है। प्रतीक अपने अर्थ का व्यंजक भी होता है और उसका उपाहक भी, किन्तु तब भी उसकी सार्थकता अपने को अधिकाधिक अप्रकट रखने में, पारदर्शी होने में होती है। ठीक यही कार्य मानव-संसार का है जो पुरुष अथवा आत्म को प्रकट कर अपने को निष्प्रयोजन बना लेता है। किन्तु अपार-दर्शी होने पर यह प्रतीक ही के समान अपने अर्थ को, अपने निरूप्य को, उपाहित कर लेता है।

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देहाभिमान पर्यन्त विकृति और विकृति के विभिन्न स्तरों का प्रस्तुत बाह्य विषय संयुक्त रूप से संसार है। विकृति और प्रस्तुत विषय में एक मौलिक अन्तर है। विकृति जब कि सत्-परिणाम है, प्रस्तुत विषय केवल प्रातिभासिक है। इसे सांख्य ने क्रमशः लिंग-सृष्टि और भाव-सृष्टि कहा है। भाव-सृष्टि प्रकृति-परिणामात्मक नहीं है, यह इन स्तरों पर प्राप्त प्रज्ञप्तियों (कोजिटो) की अन्तर्वस्तु (कान्टेन्ट) है। इस प्रकार यह भौतिक विश्व देहाभिमान (संवेदन) का अन्तर्वस्तुभूत प्रतिभास, अथवा देहात्म का समानान्तर भाव है। किन्तु यह अभिमान या विषयी पक्ष भी प्रकृति—विषय-सत्ता—का ही कार्य होने से, हक्सलीय आत्म के समान अतिक्रामी नहीं है, यह अपना विषय भी है और इस विषय का विषयी भी। विषयी रूप में यह अहं और विषय रूप में भ्रम है—मेरी देह, मेरा अहंकार, मेरी बुद्धि इत्यादि। यह मदीयत्व यद्यपि इसे आत्मबाह्य बनाता है, किन्तु तब भी प्रातिभासिक विषय के स्तर पर नहीं लाता,

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१. अकर्तृभावश्च, का० १९
२. द्रष्टव्य कारिका १७, पूर्वोद्धृत।

अर्थात् 'मेरी देह' 'मेरा मेज' पदों में वाच्य सम्बन्धों के रूप बिल्कुल भिन्न हैं। प्रथम में 'मम' अहं-विशिष्ट है, अथवा कहें अहं मदीयत्व को प्राप्त है। वास्तव में सांख्यीय प्रकृति के विषय होने के कारण इनमें पहला विकल्प ही ठीक मालूम देता है। किन्तु जैसा कि हमने पीछे संकेत किया है, प्रकृति की विषयता इस बात में है कि यह पुरुष-बाह्य और इस प्रकार अनात्म है, इस बात में नहीं कि यह बाह्य विषय रूप में प्रतिभासित होती है। 'अनात्म' और 'प्रतिभास' में अन्तर करना आवश्यक है। अनात्म अनिवार्यतः आत्म-सम्बद्ध है, यह आत्म-विषयक दोष है, यद्यपि सांख्य के अनुसार इसका अधिष्ठान आत्म में नहीं होकर उससे स्वतन्त्र है। यह दोष उस अवस्था में आत्म में होता यदि आत्म स्वरूपतः पूर्ण, गुण-दोषातीत, नहीं होता। प्रायः सब भारतीय दर्शनों के लिए यह अनवधार्य है कि आत्म अथवा चैतन्य पूर्यमान् अथवा विकासमान् सत्ता हो। आत्म के स्वरूपतः पूर्ण सत् होने से उनके लिए अनात्म की विद्यमानता और उसके अधिष्ठान का प्रश्न एक बड़ी समस्या है। वेदान्त ने इसे असत् मानकर इसका प्रतिष्ठान चैतन्य में माना है और सांख्य ने इसे असत् मानकर इसका अधिष्ठान स्वतन्त्र (प्रकृति में) माना है। किन्तु अनात्म, जो कि दोष है, का अधिष्ठान स्वतन्त्र नहीं मानने पर इसे आत्मगत दोष मानना अनिवार्य होगा और इस प्रकार आत्म को स्वरूपान्वेषी और ऐतिहासिक मानना होगा, जो कि वेदान्त को अस्वीकार्य है। इसलिए वेदान्त के लिए अनात्म की विद्यमानता एक समस्या है जो सांख्य के लिए उस प्रकार नहीं है।

किन्तु इस पर वेदान्त की ओर से आपत्ति हो सकती है कि अनात्म, अथवा कहें दोष, के असत् होने से यह आत्म की पूर्णता का खण्डन नहीं कर सकता। किन्तु यह सही नहीं है। अनात्म की दोषता और इस प्रकार असत्ता वास्तव में आत्म के प्रसंग से ही है, स्वतन्त्र रूप से नहीं। उदाहरणतः भित्ति पर लटके चित्र में यदि कोई दोष है, तो यह उस चित्र के प्रसंग से अनात्म है और उसी दृष्टि से वह असत् भी है, क्योंकि चित्र की आत्मा में उसके लिए कोई स्थान नहीं हो सकता। अब हमारे सामने यह विकल्प है कि हम चित्र को स्वरूपतः पूर्ण सत् मानें और दोष का अधिष्ठान केवल रंग और रेखाओं में मानें या कि दोष को रंग-रेखाओं सहित चित्रगत मानें और इस प्रकार चित्र को सम्भाव्य रूप से पूर्ण मानें। सांख्य प्रथम विकल्प स्वीकार करता है और वेदान्त दूसरा, किन्तु वेदान्त दूसरे विकल्प का यह निष्कर्ष स्वीकार नहीं करता कि तब आत्म को स्वरूप-विश्रांत पूर्ण सत् नहीं माना जा सकता, इसे विकासमान् पूर्णता मानना होगा। यदि वेदान्त इसका उत्तर यह दे कि निवारित दोष अपनी असत्ता प्रकट कर काल-बाह्य भी हो जाता है और इस प्रकार दोष केवल प्रातीतिक रूप से ही वास्तव (कालगत) है, प्रकट होने पर वह 'यह वस्तुतः कभी नहीं था' इस रूप से आत्म की पूर्णता प्रकट कर देता है, तो हमें वेदान्त की स्थिति स्वीकार करने में कोई बाधा नही होनी चाहिये, क्योंकि अब यह केवल शाब्दिक अन्तर है।

इस प्रकार सांख्य के लिए आत्मोपाधि आत्म की उपाधि रूप में ही असत् है, अन्यथा यह सत् प्रकृति में अधिष्ठित है। किन्तु सांख्य के सत्कार्यवादी होने से उसके लिए कोई विकार परिवर्तन नहीं है, वह केवल रूपान्तर मात्र है किन्तु यहाँ स्थिति वास्तव में उससे भिन्न है और इसे सांख्य-दार्शनिकों ने देखा प्रतीत नहीं होता। वे "दूध से दही" परिणाम के चित्र से भ्रमित होते रहे। विकृति का मूल और आश्रय अविद्या है। अविद्या और कुछ नहीं यह प्रकृति का पुरुष से, अथवा कहें अनात्म का आत्म से, अविवेक है। यह इस बात से भी सिद्ध है कि अविवेक की समाप्ति से विकृति का भी लय हो जाता है। विभिन्न विकार वास्तव में आत्मोपाधि की ही विभिन्न वृत्तियाँ मात्र हैं। अथवा कहें, आत्मोपाधि की अभिव्यक्ति विभिन्न कोटिक है और बुद्धि, अहंकार आदि तार्किक क्रम मात्र है। इसी से सांख्य यह स्वीकार नहीं करता कि बुद्धि की उत्पत्ति के पश्चात अनुगामी विकारों की उत्पत्ति रोकी जा सकती है या रुक सकती हैं, न वह यही मानता है कि निम्नतर स्तरों का विवेक हो जाने पर उन स्तरों की देह विलीन हो जाती है, उसके अनुसार बुद्धि-देह का लय होने तक शेष सब स्तरों के देह भी बने रहते हैं।[१] इस पर आपत्ति की जा सकती है कि यदि विकृति-क्रम विभिन्न स्तरीय आत्मोपाधि मात्र है, अथवा कहें, आत्म का किसी स्तर की उपाधि के साथ तादात्म्य मात्र है, तो बुद्धि, अहंकार आदि में कोई क्रम नहीं देखना चाहिए, क्योंकि तब यह तादात्म्य किसी भी स्तर पर हो सकता है और अन्य स्तर अनुपलब्ध या निष्क्रिय रह सकते हैं। अथवा, इस क्रम को केवल सूक्ष्मता के क्रम में देखा जा सकता है। वास्तव में सांख्य के विभिन्न आचार्यों ने इसे सूक्ष्मता के क्रम में ही देखा प्रतीत होता है। किन्तु इस क्रम को एक अन्य प्रकार से भी देखा जा सकता है जो सांख्य की दृष्टि के अधिक अनुकूल होगा, और वह है विषय-निरोध का क्रम। यह क्रम वास्तव में और श्रम-साध्य है और इसमें यह सम्भव नहीं है कि ऊपर की कोटि का निरोध नीचे की कोटि का निरोध किये बिना किया जा सके। यद्यपि यह सम्भव है कि ऊपर की कोटि का निरोध सीधे ही किया जा सके, किन्तु यह सम्भव नहीं है कि उससे नीचे की कोटियों का निरोध नहीं हो। इस निरूपण के औचित्य की पुष्टि अविद्या या संसार को अनादि किन्तु सान्त मानने से भी होती है। अनादि होने से इसकी विकृतियों के आविर्भाव में कोई क्रम नहीं हो सकता किन्तु सान्त होने से निरोध में क्रम हो सकता है। इसे एक दूसरी तरह से भी देखा जा सकता है—बुद्धि की अहंकार से प्राथमिकता उत्पत्ति-क्रम में नहीं हो सकती, क्योंकि बुद्धि अत्यन्त सामान्यात्मक और विवेकात्मक होने से अहंकार को जन्म नहीं दे सकती। अन्यथा भी, सांख्य के सत्कार्यवादी होने से बुद्धि में अहंकारादि समस्त अनुक्रम का पूर्वनिहित होना अनिवार्य

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१. तिष्ठति संस्कारवशात् चक्रवद्धृतशरीरः, का० ६७

है। वास्तव में व्यक्ति की उत्पत्ति के लिए, दूसरे शब्दों में पुरुष के संसारावतरण के लिए, अहंकार को प्रथम होना चाहिए और बुद्धि को द्वितीय, क्योंकि पूर्णत: निरहंकार बुद्धि निर्वैयक्तिक बुद्धि ही हो सकती है। किन्तु अहंकार को प्रथम मानने पर मोक्षान्वेषण के क्रम में, प्रकृति के आत्म-विवेक के क्रम में, अथवा कहें, संसार के आत्म-विघटन के प्रयत्न के क्रम में, अहंकार का अतिक्रमण सम्भव नहीं होगा, या फिर विवेक का अधिष्ठान पुरुष में मानना होगा। इस प्रकार सांख्य के लिए बुद्धि की प्राथमिकता वास्तव में आरोहण-क्रम में अन्तिमता है। अब, निवर्तन के क्रम में बुद्धि आत्म-अनात्म के विवेक द्वारा अहंकार का अतिक्रमण करती है और अन्तत: इसी विवेक द्वारा अपनी भी अवच्छेदकताओं का अतिक्रमण करती है।

किन्तु वास्तव में निवर्तन में भी सोपान-क्रम को सोपानों के रूप में नहीं देखकर मूल्यात्मक कोटि-क्रम के रूप में ही देखना चाहिए, क्योंकि मूल्यात्मक वस्तुस्थिति में भौतिक देह अहंकार का दैशिक संसार में अनुयोग है और मनस् का संवेदात्मक व्यापार है। इस प्रकार देह से निवर्तन वास्तव में देहाभिमान का निरोधन अथवा क्षय मात्र है। द्रष्टव्य है कि भौतिक देह का अस्तित्व सांवेदनिक है यद्यपि उसका स्वरूप देहाभिमान है। अब इस मूल्यात्मक आरोहण अथवा निवर्तन में देह के अस्तित्व का, संवेदन का, क्षय अभिप्रेत या वांछित नहीं है, केवल देहात्म का क्षय वांछित है, यद्यपि अहंकारमूलक अवच्छिन्नता के पूर्ण क्षय के लिए बुद्धि-पर्यन्त देहों (अवच्छिन्नताओं) के अस्तित्व का क्षय भी आवश्यक होगा। इस प्रकार सृष्टि-परक प्रवर्तन और निवर्तन वास्तव में केवल अहंकार के प्रवर्तन और निवर्तन मात्र हैं, अस्तित्व के नहीं।

सांख्य की इस व्याख्या पर सन्देह हो सकता है कि यह उसके परिणामवाद से मेल नहीं खाती, क्योंकि परिणाम जनन-क्रम का ही एक प्रकार है और दूसरे, सांख्य ने बुद्धि आदि को 'लिंग' कहा है जिससे यह धारणा और पुष्ट होती है। किन्तु इसके विरुद्ध सांख्य के सत्कार्यवाद को प्रस्तुत किया जा सकता है जिसके अनुसार कार्य केवल कारण का प्रस्फुटन या अभिव्यक्ति मात्र है। इस प्रकार कोई उत्पत्ति नवीन उत्पत्ति नहीं है। हमारा प्रस्ताव केवल यह है कि यदि इस प्रस्फुटन को कालक्रमात्मक रूप में देखा जायगा तो यह सांख्य के अपने मूल आशय के विपरीत जायगा, यद्यपि सांख्याचार्यों ने इस परिणाम को समझाने के लिए जिन उपमाओं का प्रयोग किया है वे सभी कालक्रमात्मक हैं। यह परिणाम वास्तव में अवधारणा या प्रत्यय के मूल आशय की अभिव्यक्ति जैसा है, जो लोक में अपनी अभिव्यक्ति के क्रम में काल को उत्पन्न करना है, अथवा कहें काल का सहजात है, किन्तु जो अपनी अलौकिक सत्ता में कालोत्तर है। वास्तव में सांख्य के परिणामवाद को केवल वेदान्त के विवर्तवाद के प्रसंग में ही देखना चाहिये, जिसका अर्थ है कि सांख्य अवच्छेदों और

उपाधियों का उपादान कारण चैतन्य-वाह्य मानता है, यद्यपि इनका अर्थ चैतन्यपरक मानता है।

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सांख्य के अनुसार प्रकृति एक और परम सामान्य है तथा पुरुष अनेक और अणु हैं। पुरुष की अनेकता के लिए सांख्य ने जो प्रमाण दिये हैं वे लौकिक अनुभव और मोक्षाकांक्षा की व्यक्तिमूलकतापरक हैं। उसके अनुसार, एक के अन्धा होने पर सब अन्धे नहीं होते, एक के जन्मने-मरने पर सब नहीं जन्मते-मरते, मोक्ष-मार्ग में सब अलग-अलग स्तरों पर हैं। प्राचीन सांख्याचार्यों ने इन प्रमाणों की युक्तता के पक्ष में कोई तर्क नहीं दिये हैं, केवल इन प्रमाणों का उल्लेख मात्र कर दिया है। आधुनिक चिन्तकों ने इनकी खिल्ली उड़ाई है क्योंकि प्रकटतः ये बालिशतापूर्ण और सांख्य की मूल अवधारणा से विसंगत हैं।[1] किन्तु हमारे विचार में, थोड़ा गहराई से देखने पर इन प्रमाणों की उपयुक्तता देखी जा सकती है।

यहाँ पहले हमें सांख्य के इन तर्कों का स्वरूप समझना चाहिए। लँगड़ा, अंधा आदि एक भौतिक शरीर के विकार हैं। इस रूप में ये अंशतः वैसे ही हैं जैसे टूटे मेज, कुर्सी आदि। किन्तु इनका एक दूसरा अर्थ भी है, इस अर्थ में ये आत्मोपाधिक देह की—देहात्म की—क्रियाशक्ति के वाधित होने के सूचक हैं, ये मेरे अभाव, मेरी असमर्थता को दर्शाते हैं। इस रूप में ये दोष या लक्षण व्यक्ति के अन्तरंग हैं। जैसा कि हमने पीछे कहा, सांख्य के अनुसार प्रकृति की वैयक्तिक अवच्छिन्नता सत् है, वह वेदान्त के समान इसे असत् नहीं मानता। इसलिए सांख्य के लिए यह प्रश्न स्वाभाविक है कि इन वैयक्तिक अवच्छिन्नताओं का स्रोत क्या है?

प्रकृति के नितान्त सामान्य होने के कारण प्रकृति से उत्पन्न अहंकार को भी सामान्य और वैश्व होना चाहिए। ईश्वर ऐसा अहंकार हो सकता है। किन्तु जैसा हम देखते हैं, अहंकार वैश्व नहीं होकर व्यक्तिरूप है। जब इस वैयक्तिक अहंकार का स्रोत प्रकृति नहीं हो सकती, तो यह कोई दूसरा होना चाहिए। यह स्रोत चैतन्य में है। इसलिए चैतन्य को अणुरूप में कल्पित करना उचित है, क्योंकि यदि चैतन्य को भी अद्वय सत्ता के रूप में कल्पित किया जाय तो वैयक्तिक अवच्छिन्नताओं की व्याख्या करना कठिन होगा। इस प्रकार चैतन्य की आणविकता अनुभव-मूलक प्रमाणों से संकेतित होती है। किन्तु इसका अर्थ यह नहीं है कि चैतन्य स्वयं भी वैयक्तिता की अवच्छेदकताओं से निर्धारित किया जा सकता है। ये निर्धारण चैतन्य पर लागू नहीं किये जा सकते। इस प्रकार चैतन्य के लिए 'एक', 'अनेक' आदि विशेषणों का प्रयोग इस रूप में ही किया जा सकता है कि 'मानो वह ऐसा है'। किन्तु उतना ही सही

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१. द्रष्टव्य : डॉ० निकुंजविहारी बनर्जी, दि स्पिरिट आफ इण्डियन फिलासफी, पृ० १७८, आर्नल्ड-हीनेमान पब्लिशर्स, १९७४

उसे अखंड सत्ता कहना भी है। उसका कोई भी निरूपण 'मानो ऐसा है' इस प्रकार का ही हो सकता है। इस प्रकार, चैतन्य की अणुता और अनेकता कहा जा सकता है। अर्थात् पुरुष वैयक्तिक अवच्छिन्नताओं के अतिक्रामी मूल के रूप में आणविक सत्ता है। इस प्रकार सांख्य द्वारा निरूपित स्वरूपविश्रान्त, निरवच्छिन्न चित् सत्ता को अनेक कहने में और उसके लिए आनुभविक अवच्छिन्नताओं को प्रमाण के रूप में प्रस्तुत करने में कोई बेतुकापन नहीं है, क्योंकि चित् की अणुता वैयक्तिकता का अतिक्रामी विधायक होने के रूप में ही देखनी चाहिए, वास्तव में अणुता में नहीं।

किन्तु पुरुष का संसार में 'अनुयोग' केवल इतना ही नहीं है। संसार प्राकृतिक होने पर भी स्वतः नहीं है (संघातपरार्थत्वात्), क्योंकि पुरुष के बिना संसार की मानवीय उत्पत्ति नहीं होती। मानवीय संसार प्राकृतिक होने पर भी आत्मसम्बद्ध है, जो इसकी मोक्षाकांक्षा (विषय से स्वतंत्रता की आकांक्षा) से स्पष्ट है। इस प्रकार संसार पौरुषिक नहीं होकर भी पुरुष से है— इसे असंसक्त पुरुष का संसारावतरण भी कह सकते हैं। वास्तव में, सांख्य जब प्रकृति को पुरुष की भोग्या कहता है और आत्मौपाधिक लिंग सृष्टि को भोगायतन, तब इसका यही अर्थ लेना चाहिए : पुरुष अतिक्रामी भोक्ता है। अर्थात् प्रकृति में मोक्षाकांक्षा की विद्यमानता इसे विषय रूप में प्रकट करती है और इसकी यह विषयता एक ओर अप्रस्तुत विषयी को प्रकट करती है और दूसरी ओर अन्येष्य आत्म को।

किन्तु 'पुरुष का संसारावतरण' कहने में स्पष्ट वदतोव्याघात दिखाई देता है, क्योंकि संसार अनात्म की आत्मौपाधिक सृष्टि है और परिणामतः संसार को पुरुषावतरण कहने का अर्थ होगा आत्म का अनात्म-भाव, अथवा कम से कम उसकी अनात्मोन्मुख वृत्ति। जिन्होंने संसार को पुरुषावतरण के रूप में देखा है वे चैतन्य को अनिवार्यतः अनात्मवृत्तिक (विषयापेक्षी) मानते हैं; उदाहरणतः फिनोमिनलोजीवादी; वेदान्त आत्म को स्वरूप-विश्रान्त मानकर भी अद्वैतवादी होने के कारण उसका संसारावतरण (विवर्त) मानने को बाध्य है, किन्तु सांख्य अनात्म को स्वरूपसत् मानकर आत्म को अनात्मवृत्ति से पूर्णतः स्वतन्त्र रख सकता है। ऐसी अवस्था में पुरुष के संसारावतरण का अर्थ केवल अनात्म का परार्थ होना और अपने इस अर्थ को व्याकृत करना है।

आत्म और अनात्म का सम्बन्ध वास्तव में दर्शन की कठिनतम समस्या है। वेदान्त अविद्या के अनादि और चैतन्य को एक मात्र सत् मानकर अनात्म को आत्म के भीतर स्थान देने को बाध्य है, और वास्तव में वह अनात्म का अधिष्ठान आत्म में मानता भी है। किन्तु आत्म और अनात्म के विपरीत कोटियाँ होने से इसमें वदतोव्याघात है और परिणामतः वेदान्त इससे बचने के लिए आत्म को स्वरूपविश्रान्त और अनात्म को असत् उपाधि कहता है। किन्तु जैसा कि हमने पीछे देखा, उपाधि

की असत्ता वास्तव में आत्मरूप में ही हो सकती है, अनात्मरूप में नही, क्योंकि यदि इसे अनात्मरूप में भी असत् कहा जाय तो आत्म को अनात्मवृत्तिक मानना अनिवार्य होगा जैसाकि फिनोमिन-लोजीवादी मानते हैं। इस अवांछनीय विकल्प से बचने के लिए अनात्म को औपाधिक रूप में असत् किन्तु स्वरूपसत् मानना अनिवार्य हो जाता है, जैसाकि सांख्य मानता है।

आत्मोपाधि और तन्मूलक संसार अविद्यारूप और असत् है। यह स्वरूप-भ्रान्ति अथवा अविद्या यद्यपि प्रकृतिगत ही है किन्तु यह यथार्थ आत्म से प्रसक्त हुए विना अविद्या नहीं कही जा सकती। इस प्रसंग से ही यह अनात्म है, जैसाकि हमने पीछे कहा। यद्यपि यह विकल्प वदतोव्याघात नहीं है कि आत्मोपाधि को आत्म के प्रसंग के विना भी प्रकृतिगत अविद्या माना जाय और इसके क्षय को अविद्या का क्षय, किन्तु तब यह प्रकृतिगत विवेचन की प्रक्रिया मात्र होगी— पानी के ऑक्सीजन और हाइड्रोजन में विवेचित होने जैसी, और तब यह आत्मोपाधि दुःख और मूल्य-विपर्यय नहीं होगी और परिणामतः इसका निरास आनन्द, मूल्य और परम साध्य नहीं होगा। वास्तव में अहंकार का अनात्म के रूप में ग्रहण दोष या दुःख के रूप में ग्रहण है और इसका निवारण मृत्यु है। यद्यपि यह निवारण इसलिए मूल्य है क्योंकि आत्म परम मूल्य है, किन्तु आत्म साध्य नहीं है, क्योंकि यह स्वरूप सिद्ध है, साध्य केवल असत् का निरास है क्योंकि यह दोष है।

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दोष दुःख है और इस दुःख पर मनन विवेक को उत्पन्न करता है। दुःख से प्रथम साम्मुख्य पीड़ा के रूप में देहात्म के स्तर पर होता है और इस दुःख पर मनन देह को आत्म से भिन्न और बाहर स्थापित कर महाभूतों के रूप में ग्रहण करता है। इसी प्रकार क्रमशः तन्मात्रों और इन्द्रियों का मनस् में और मनस् का अहंकार में तथा अहंकार का बुद्धि में प्रकृति को समर्पण किया जाता है। इन उपाधियों से निवृत्त बुद्धि तब आत्म का अपनी-अपनी वृत्ति में ग्रहण करती है। बुद्धि की यह आत्म-वृत्ति बुद्धि को स्वयं प्रकृति-रूप में प्रकट कर बुद्धि का विलयन घटित करती है।

आत्म का संज्ञान या अवगमन केवल बुद्धि-वृत्ति के माध्यम से ही होता है। वास्तव में बुद्धि की अहंकार से पूर्वता इसी बात में है कि यह एक ओर विशिष्ट अवधारणाओं से परे प्रकृति की शुद्ध एतत्ता का ग्रहण कर सकती है और दूसरी ओर स्वरूप विश्रान्त आत्म के आभास से अपनी प्राकृतिकता (विषयरूपता) का ग्रहण कर सकती है।

किन्तु आत्म का यह ग्रहण बुद्धि-वृत्ति का ही स्फुरण है, जो कि अनात्म है, आत्म से इसकी 'अनुरूपता' अथवा 'सामीप्य' केवल इसके अहंकार से अबाधित होने से

ही है। इस प्रकार स्वयं आत्म का संज्ञान या अवगमन संभव नहीं है, वह पूर्णतः अतिक्रामी है। यह द्रष्टव्य है कि आत्म की यह अतिक्रामिता केवल प्रकृति के सन्दर्भ में ही है, यह आत्मातिक्रामी नहीं है। सांख्य ने आत्म को स्वप्रकाशक तक नहीं माना है, केवल प्रकाशस्वरूप माना है, स्वप्रकाशक मानने पर यह कहा जा सकता था कि वह अपने को अपने लिए प्रस्तुत करता है और इस प्रकार वह अपना विषयकरण और अपना अतिक्रमण करता है। न ही वह डेकार्टीय ज्ञानक्रिया है जो अपने को अपने घटित होने में जानती है, अथवा कहें अपने होने और अपने को जानने के लिए अपने को घटित करती है, क्योंकि तब यह अनिवार्य, स्वरूप-सत् और स्वरूप-विश्रांत चैतन्य नहीं होकर एक ऐसी आगन्तुक घटना होती जो एक-साथ आत्मवित् और पराङ्मुख है। इस प्रकार सांख्य के आत्म (पुरुष) को पराक् नहीं कहा जा सकता, यद्यपि वह प्रत्यक् अथवा आत्मप्रत्यक् भी नहीं है। किन्तु यह तीन प्रकार से पराक् है, एक इस प्रकार कि यह इसकी कोटियों के लिए अनवगम्य है और अनिवार्य है, दूसरे इसलिए क्योंकि यह इसका अतिक्रामी प्रवर्तक है, और तीसरे इसलिए कि संसार इसका और अपना अतिक्रमण करता है। इस दूसरी और तीसरी प्रकार की अतिक्रामिता का प्रतिपादन ही सांख्य ने 'संघातपरार्थत्वात्' से किया है। अर्थात् प्रकृति स्वतःपूर्ण नहीं है, यह सापेक्ष है, इसका अर्थ पुरुषापेक्ष है। किन्तु पुरुषापेक्षा प्रकृति में है, पुरुष में नहीं। अपेक्षा अनुरागात्मक आसक्त्यात्मक होने पर आत्मोपाधियों का प्रवर्तन होता है और विरागात्मक होने पर ये उपाधियाँ लुप्त हो जाती हैं और प्रकृति मूल्य-रहित वस्तु के रूप में उपेक्षित और निषिद्ध हो जाती है। इस प्रकार संसार का प्रवर्तन (सर्ग) और निवर्तन (लय) अतिक्रामी मूल में है।

सांख्य द्वारा संसारगत सब कोटियों का अन्तर्भाव प्रकृति में कर लेने के कारण और पुरुष को निष्क्रिय मानने के कारण कुछ लोग इस भ्रम में पड़ जाते हैं कि सांख्य में पुरुष और मोक्ष आरोपित अवधारणाएँ हैं अन्यथा सांख्य वस्तुवादी प्रदर्शन के रूप में एक पूर्ण व्यवस्था है। किन्तु जैसा कि हमारे उपर्युक्त विवेचन से स्पष्ट है सांख्य की प्रकृति भौतिक द्रव्य नहीं है जिससे भौतिक-रासायनिक प्रक्रियाओं से मन, बुद्धि आदि की उत्पत्ति होती है। उसके अनुसार यह उत्पत्ति विषय को आत्मरूप में, एतत् को अहंरूप में ग्रहण करने से होती है। उसके लिए मानव-संसार दुःख, अनात्म और दोष है जिसका निषेध और अतिक्रमण परम साध्य है। वास्तव में सांख्यीय प्रकृति आत्म-व्याकृत विषय है जिसकी दुःखात्मकता, निरर्थकता और रिक्तता प्रकट हो गई है और संसार आत्म-विवेचन का क्रम है जो क्रमशः अपनी निरर्थकता प्रकट कर निरस्त हो जाता है। इस प्रकार सांख्य मौलिक रूप से एक मूल्य-दर्शन है।

GENEALOGIES IN THE BṚHADĀRAṆYAKA UPANIṢAD

*V. P. Bhatt**

The Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad (B.U) gives an account of genealogies (*vaṁśas*) three times. At the end of each *kāṇḍa* or book of this text, *viz.*, *Madhukāṇḍa* (2.6. 1-3), *Yājñavalkyakāṇḍa* or *Munikāṇḍa* (4.6. 1-3) and *Khilakāṇḍa* (6.5. 1-4) one comes across the lists of teachers and disciples. It is significant that this is the only *Upaniṣad* which gives a traditional account of *guru-śiṣya*. Why these genealogies should be given in this *Upaniṣad* alone, is a riddle.

The genealogy, given at the end of the *Khilakāṇḍa*, is the largest of all. Śaṅkara observes in this connection that this account (i. e., 6.5. 1-4) refers to the entire tradition of the teachers and disciples.[1] Other commentators like Vāsudeva Brahma Bhagavata[2], Nityānanda[3], Dvivedagaṅga[4] corroborate Śaṅkara's view.

1. It is significant to note that the two versions of the *BṛU viz.*, *Kāṇ.* and *Mādh.* are not identical in enumerating the names of teachers and disciples. The *Vaṁśas* recorded in these recensions are interestingly different in content and variety. One notices that the first list of the *Kāṇ.* recension (2.6. 1-3) begins with Pautimasya who is said to have received instructions from Gaupavana. But one learns, on the contrary, that the *Mādh.* recension (2 5. 20-22) starts with *vayam*, i. e, it records 'We received knowledge from Śaurpanayya'. It is not only in this detail

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1. *Samastapravacanavaṁśaḥ*, *Śāṅkara Bhāṣya*, 6.5.1
2. *Vā. Bhā.*, 6.4. 30
3. *Ni-Bhā*, 6.5. 1
4. *Dvi-Bhā.*, 14.9.4.30

that these recensions differ from each other concerning their commencement, but they also differ further to a great extent from each other. The *Kāṇ*. recension mentions Gaupavana who received knowledge from Pautimāṣya, and further allusion has been made to Pautimāṣya as the disciple of Gaupavana, and then, he is said to have been imparted knowledge by Kausika, and so on. On the other hand, *Mādh*. recension mentions that Śaurpaṇāyya learnt from Gautama, in turn, Vātsya from Śaurpaṇāyya, from Vātsya Vātsya again, from him Pārāśarya, from Pārāśarya Sāṁkṛtya and Bhāradvāja, Bhāradvāja, from Auḍavāha, and so on. All these teachers and disciples are not to be found in the *Kāṇ*. recension. Instead, it records that Kauśika received knowledge (of the *Madhukāṇḍā*) from Kauṇḍinya, he from Śāṇḍilya, he from Kauśika and Gautama, Gautama from Āgniveśya, he from Śāṇḍilya, and Ānabhimlāta, Ānabhimlāta from Ānabhimlāta, he from Gautama, and so on. But, it is not that the two recensions are always in disagreement They tally from Vaijavāpāyana, the pupil of Kauśikāyani onwards upto the last teacher, *viz*., *Brahman*, the self-born (*Svayaṁbhū*). Though the two lists are identical from Vaijavāpāyana, yet there are some exceptions, where these differ from each other. *Kāṇ*. records Viprajitti as the teacher of Ekarṣi, but the *Mādh*. mentions Vipracitti. Further *Mādh*. refers to Vipracitti as the disciple of Vyaṣṭi, but the *Kāṇ*. mentions Vyasti having Viprajitti as his pupil. Furthermore, when *Mādh*. records Jātukāyana as the student of Bhāradvāja, *Kān*. does not mention this.

The second list starts with 'ourselves' in the *Mādh*. recension. It has been recorded in it that 'We learnt from Śaurpaṇāyya'. But the *Kān*. recension (4.6. 1-3) begins with Pautimāyya, the said disciple of Gaupavana. The *Mādh*. after that mentions that Śaurpaṇāyya received knowledge from Gautama, he from Vātsya, he from Vātsya and Pārāśarya, Pārāśarya from Sankṛtya and Bhāradvaja, Bhāradvaja from Auḍavāha, and so on. All these teachers and pupils are not recorded in the *Kāṇ*. recension. The *Kāṇ*. instead, records other personalities in the following manner : —

Pautimāṣya from Gaupavana, he from pautimāṣya, he from Gaupavana, he from Kauśika, he from Kauṇḍinya, he from Śāṇḍilya, and so on. They start giving identical record from Sāyakāyana who received knowledge from Kauśikāyani, and ultimately they reach up to Parameṣṭhī who is said to have received knowledge from *Brahman*, the self-born, in complete agreement except a few cases, *viz.*, *Mādh.* refers to Jātūkarṇya as the pupil of Bhāradvāja, but the *Kāṇ.* alludes to him as the student of Āsurāyaṇa and Yāska. The *Mādh.* records Āsurāyaṇa and Yāska as the teachers of Bhāradvāja, and this record is altogether missing in the *Kāṇ.* Moreover, the *Mādh.* mentions Traivaṇi as the pupil of Aupajandhani and Āsuri, but this is absent in the *Kāṇ.* recension.

3. The third genealogical account found at the end of the *Khilakāṇḍa* (6.5. 1–4) is unique, for it presents an entirely different aspect. It is interesting to learn that here most of the teachers and disciples have been named after their mother's names. Why does this *Vaṁśa* chiefly deal with the teachers and disciples after their mothers' names ? Dvivedagaṅga comments : *putramanthakarmaḥ strīsaṁskārārthatvena uktatvāt tatsannidhānāt anyaṁ Vaṁśaḥ. strīprādhānyena ucyate* (*Dvi. Bhā.* 14.9.4.30), i. e., "The peculiar rite *putramantha karma* is especially to be performed as a rite which has got a special significance with ladies. Because of this, this particular dynasty is referred to by the name of the mother." It may be said that these personalities are different from those of the first and the second list s.

Regarding this genealogy, the two recensions are not unanimous. *Mādh.* abruptly stops with the mention of the following : *ādityāni imāni śuklāni yajūṁṣi vājasaneyena yājñavalkyena ākhyāyante,* i.e., "As coming from Āditya, the Sun, these pure *Yajus* verses have been proclaimed by Yājñavalkya Vājasaneya."[1] But the

1. Tr. by Max Müller, F., *Sacred Books of the East*, xv, p. 226.

Kāṇ. recension, on the contrary, goes on stating that "the line of teachers is the same upto the son of Sānjīvī, and he received knowledge from Māṇḍūkāyani, he from Māṇḍavya, he from Kautsa, he from Māhitthi, he from Vāmakakṣāyaṇa, he from Śāṇḍilya, he from Vātsya, he from Kuśri, he from Yājñavacas, the son of Rājastambha, he from Tura, the son of Kavaṣa, he from Prajāpati, he from *Brahman*, he is selfborn.

All these teachers and disciples found in the *Kāṇ.* (6.5.2) have not been recorded in the *Mādh.* And also some 32 teachers' list starting from the son of Pautimāṣī is missing completely in the *Mādh.* recension. *Mādh.* on the other hand, enumerates an altogether different list which starts, mentioning 'We' who were taught by the son of Bhāradvājī who, in turn, had been instructed by the son of Vātsīmāṇḍavī. However, concerning the following *Vaṁśa* both the recensions go in agreement. The son of Prācīnayogī received knowledge from the son of Sāñjīvī, he from the son of Prāśnī, the dweller of Āsurī (Āsurivāsī), he from Āsurāyaṇa, he from Āsuri, he from Yājñavalkya, he from Uddālaka, he from Aruṇa, he from Upaveśi, he from Kuśri, he from Vājaśravā, he from Jihvāvata Badhyoga, he from Asita Vārṣagaṇa, he from Haritkaśyapa, he from Śilpa-kaśyapa, he from Kaśyapa Naidhruva, he from Vāk, he from Abhiṇī, he from Āditya.

One who dives into the depths of these genealogies finds that these are inexplicable in many points. (i) Names are sometimes repeated, the teacher's and the pupil's name being the same. For example, the text records : *pautimāṣyo gaupavanād gaupavanaḥ pautimāṣyād.* It may be suggested that the second Pautimāṣya is another *ācārya* of the same name.[1] (ii) In these lists sometimes one comes across thus : *Śāṇḍilyaḥ kauśikācca gautamācca.* In such

1. *Vaidya*, C. V., *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Vol. I, Poona, 1930, p. 222.

cases, it should be understood that the names of two teachers are given. The use of 'ca' leads to this inference. Hence, it should be made out that *Śāṇḍilya* learnt from Kauśika and Gautama. (iii) The text tells : *Ānabhimlātaḥ Ānabhimlātāt*. C. V. Vaidya[1] rightly points out that this is explicable only on the supposition that the second is the father and bears the same name as it is a *gotra* name. (iv) The textual mention *saitavaprācīnayogyau*, again is to be explained as two teachers or two brothers of the same name. (v) Bhāradvāja and Pārāśarya have been repeated next. They are to be understood to have been different personalities of the same name. (vi) The name like Parameṣṭhī, who is said to be the pupil of *Brahman*, the selfborn (*Svayaṁbhū*), seems to be imaginary. In the third genealogical list, the line of teachers from Āsuri who is said to be the student of Yājñavalkya, and Yājñavalkya is referred to as the disciple of Uddālaka, and Uddālaka, in his turn, alluded to as the pupil of Aruṇa, is to be considered as purely historical.

While going through those genealogies, one notices that the genealogies of the *Madhukāṇḍa* and that of the *Yājñavalkyakāṇḍa* end with the mention of *Brahman*, the self-born (*Svayaṁbhū*), but curiously enough the third genealogy of the *Khilakāṇḍa* differs from them when it ends with the record of Āditya, the sun. It is again very significant to note that the sage Yājñavalkya who is traditionally known as the author of the *ŚY* and that of the *ŚB* as well as of the *BṛU*, and who has been a prominent personality throughout the whole second and the third chapters of the *BṛU*, has not at all been mentioned in the genealogies of the first and the second *Kāṇḍas*. The absence of Yājñavalkya's name in these genealogies has not gone unnoticed by the scholars like S. K. Belvalkar and R. D. Ranade. They point out : "It is strange not to

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1. Vaidya, C. V., *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Vol. I, Poona, 1930, p. 222.

find herein, (i. e. 4. 6. 1–3) the name of Yājñavalkya."[1] On this very basis, they conclude as follows : "Are we to conclude that the doctrines put into his mouth were current in his school as self subsisting philosophical reflections which were only subsequently ascribed to Yājñavalkya ?"[2] They further assert : "The sage appears to have at least as much of the mythical element in him as his historical, seeing that in his teacher's list at the end of the *Upaniṣad* (which is to be regarded as that for the whole *ŚB*) he figures as 13th from the sun."[3]

But this view does not look convincing enough. The reason why Yājñavalkya's name has been left unrecorded is obvious. These genealogies have flourished and were preserved independently. Subsequently, they were appended to the *BṛU*.[4] Hence, it seems reasonable to presume that Yājñavalkya's name has been left unrecorded by the mistake of the compiler of the *BṛU*.

Now, so far as the name of Yājñavalkya which figures as the 13th from the sun is concerned, it may be said that whenever the tradition of teachership is lost it is attributed naturally to some divinity or the other. Hence, when the compiler or preserver of these genealogies could not remember the tradition of teachers and disciples beyond 13 teachers from Yājñavalkya, the son was mentioned by him.

By no means Yājñavalkya should be considered a mythical

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1. Belvalkar, S. K. & Ranade, R.D., *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. 2, Poona, 1927, p. 116.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. Cf. *Eggeling*, J., *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. 12, p. xxxiv; *Weber, A., History of Indian Literature*, Tr. by Mann. J. and Zachariae, T., London, 1882, p. 129.

personality, for he has been clearly mentioned as a historical *ṛṣi* throughout the course of the disputations of Yājñavalkya with several distinguished scholars at the court of the king of Videha (*BṛU*. 3.1.1.–3.9.28),

Now, a question naturally arises whether these genealogies are to be understood as authentic or not. (i) It may be asserted in answer to this question that there is no reason why these genealogical accounts should be considered as unauthentic. Had these been insignificant or unauthentic, they would not have been appended to the *BṛU*. Since, they have been preserved with great care, it is quite reasonable to assume that they are genuine. (ii) We may state the same what F. E. Pargiter[1] pleads with regard to the genealogies of the *Purāṇas* : "If anybody maintains that these genealogies are worthless, the burden rests on him to produce, not more doubts and suppositions,, but substantial grounds and reasons for his assertion. Common sense thus shows that these genealogies cannot be fictitious." (iii) When one accepts the Vedic texts as trustworthy and not fictitious, how can then one regard these genealogies which form part and parcel of the *BṛU*, to be unauthentic ? (iv) It is significant to note that many of the names of teachers and disciples recorded in these genealogies are to be found mentioned in the Vedic and Purāṇic texts. The *BṛU* mentions in its body not only Yājñavalkya but also makes allusions to Uddālaka Āruṇi (6.3.7), Paiṅgya (6.3.8), Satyakāma Jābāla (6.3.12). Paiṅgya also finds mention in the *ŚB* (11.7.2.8) and *KB* (8.9; 16.9; 26.3). Āsuri finds mention in the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* (2.35.12) and *Matsya Purāṇa* (102.18). Tura Kāvaṣeya mentioned in the genealogy (6.5.4), is referred to in the *ŚB* (10.6.5.9). Likewise, Śāṇḍilya (2.6.1; 4.6.1; 4.6.4.) finds mention as a great teacher in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (3.14.4) and *ŚB* (9.4.4.17; 9.5.2.15; 10.1.4.10).

1. *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, Delhi, 1962, p. 20.

It is, therefore, quite evident that these genealogies cannot be fictitious. As regards the names which are to be found nowhere repeated, it may very well be believed to have been mentioned in those texts which are lost to us today. About the variations in the two recensions concerning the names, it may be said that it is quite natural, for these genealogies have been preserved through oral tradition of different schools. So naturally differences occur.

These considerations show that the genealogies have strong claims to be accepted as authentic. This, however, does not mean that they are complete and absolutely accurate, because "no human testimony is free from defects and errors."[1] Nevertheless, it is quite clear that they are genuine accounts and are substantially trustworthy. They give us history as handed down in tradition by men whose business was to preserve the past.

ABBREVIATIONS

BṛU.	:	*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*
Dvi. Bhā.	:	Dvivedagaṅga's *Bhāṣya* on *BṛU* (*Mādh.*)
Kāṇ.	:	*Kāṇva* recension of *BṛU*
KB.	:	*Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*
Mādh.	:	*Mādhyanadina's* recension of *BṛU*
Ni. Bhā.	:	*Nityānanda's Bhāṣya* on *BṛU* (*Kāṇ.*)
Śaṅ. Bhā.	:	*Saṅkarācārya's Bhāṣya* on *BṛU* (*Kāṇ.*)
ŚB	:	*Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*
ŚY	:	*Sukla Yajurveda*
Vā. Bhā	:	Vāsudeva Brahma Bhagavata's *Bhāṣya* on BṛU (*Mādh.*)

1. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

IDENTIFICATION OF A CITATION IN CAKRADHARA-BHAṬṬA'S NYĀYA-MAÑJARĪ-GRANTHI-BHAṄGA ON JAYANTA-BHAṬṬA'S NYĀYA-MAÑJARĪ

*Dr. Biswanath Bhattacharya**

The *Nyāya-mañjarī-granthi-bhaṅga*[1] by Cakradhara-Bhaṭṭa, son of Śaṅkara-Bhaṭṭa and disciple of *Śaśāṅkadhara*, is a commendable commentary on the *Nyāya-mañjarī* of Jayanta-Bhaṭṭa, a protégé of King Śaṅkara-Varman [885-902 A. D.] of Kāśmīra. This commentary bristles with numerous citations from and references to varied authors and works, both well-known and less known, and as such is a mine of valuable information for the interested scholars. It has been edited creditably by Sri Nagin J. Shah who has spared no pains in tracing most of these citations and references to their proper sources.

But there are still some quotations in this edition which have been left untraced by the editor.

The purport of the present article is to locate one such citation with precision and examine its propriety in the context of the commentary.

The quotation under consideration, which occurs in the context of the Pada-svarūpa-varṇana in the sixth Āhnika of the commentary, finds its place in the following passage : —

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1. Cakradhara's *Nyāya-mañjarī-granthi-bhaṅga*, ed. Nagin J. Shah, L. D. Series, no. 35, L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, 1972.

<<*Vareṇya-śabdaś ca sa varaṇīyo vareṇya iti kṛtya-pratyaya-samānārthā (rtha) tayā* <*puṇyo mahā-Brahma-samūha-juṣṭaḥ santarpaṇo (°-juṣṭa santarpaṇo —sic) nākasadāṁ vareṇyaḥ*> *ity-ādau yaugikatvena prayujyate* [,] *na ca tathā vyutpādakam asya samasti| etac ca uṇ-ādi-pratyākhyāna-pakṣāśrayeṇoktam.|*

apratyākhyāne, pi vā <avadya-paṇya[—varyā°[1]] iti sūtrasyā ['] narthatā dṛṣṭā.

atha cauṇādikānāṁ rūḍhi-śabdatvād vyutpatti-nimittatayaiva tatra kriyā-kāraka-sambandha āśrīyate, na pravṛtti-nimittatayā api, mā bhūd gamana-kriyā-yogāt puruṣādav api go-śabda-pravṛtti-prasaṅga iti, tad ayaṁ yady api vareṇya-śabda uṇ-ādau sidhyati (siddhyati—sic) *tathapi yas tatra sidhyati (siddhyati*—sic> > *sa kvacid eva*··· > > [2]

In this passage the underlined citation can be identified accurately as the *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya*, 1/4[ab].[3]

It appears that this first hemistich of the original *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya* verse has been cited by Cakradhara in as much as it contains the problematic word <*vareṇyaḥ*> [= *varaṇīyaḥ* = *śreṣṭhaḥ* = *prārthanīyaḥ*] at the end of 'b'. He examines the grammatical correctness of the declensional base <*vareṇya*–> on two scores as follows :

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1. Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyayi*, 3.1.101. Should we read <eti-stu-śās-vṛ-dṛ-juṣaḥ kyap>[Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyi*, 3.1.109] ?

2. *Nyāya-mañjarī-granthi-bhaṅga*, p. 170-171

3. Cf. *puṇyo mahā-Brahma-samūha-juṣṭaḥ*
santarpaṇo nākasadāṁ vareṇyaḥ|
jajvāla loka-sthitaye sa rājā
yathā 'dhvare vahnir abhipraṇītaḥ|

[*Bhaṭṭi-kāvya*' with the commentaries of Jayamaṅgala and Bharata-Mallika, ed. Āśubodha Vidyābhūṣaṇa and Nityabodha Vidyāratna, 5th edn., Calcutta, 1938, Part I, 1/4, pp. 11-13]

(i) Firstly, he challenges the derivation of the stem in question from the standpoint of Pāṇini. From this viewpoint √*vṛ* [*ṅ*], a kraiy-ādika ātmanepadin seṭ root [*vṛṇīte* etc.] meaning saṁbhakti [= bhajana], admits of the *kṛtya* suffix *—ya* [t] - [along with the feminine-forming suffix—(*ṭ*) *ā* (*p*) —] in the sense of anirodha [= *apratibandha* = *aniyama*], and the resultant feminine stem is *varyā*—, which is thus a nipātana-siddha, niyata-strī-liṅga and yoga-rūḍha gerundive.[1]

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1. Cf. Pāṇini : *avadya-Paṇya-varyā garhya-paṇitavyā* (') *nirodheṣu* [*Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 3.1.101]; Bhaṭṭoji-Dikṣita : *anirodho' pratibandhas tasmin viṣaye vṛṇo yat|śatena varyā kanyā*; Jñānendra-Sarasvatī : *iha sūtre, vadyādīni nirvibhaktikāni pṛthak padāni tatra varyā-śabdaṣ ṭāb-anto, nukriyate|na tu ayaṁ dvandvena jasantena nirdeśaḥ|tena varyeti striyām eva nipātyate|...na cātra* (*eti-stu-*°) [Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 3.1.109] *iti kyap śaṅkyaḥ|tatra vṛña eva grahaṇaṁ* [—] *na tu vṛṇa iti siddhāntāt|*·····(*īḍa-vanda-*°) [Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 6.1.214] *iti jñāpakāt tatra hi īḍa-vandibhyāṁ sāhacaryād ātmane-padino vṛṇa eva grahaṇam iti bhāvaḥ*; Vāsudeva-Dīkṣita : (*vṛṇ saṁbhaktau*) *iti kraiy-ādikasyaivātra grahaṇam, na tu* <*vṛñ varaṇe*> *ity asya, anirodha-rūpārthasya saṁbhaktivācitva eva sāmañjasyād iti bhāvaḥ|...atra varyā śabdasya strīliṅgasya grahaṇāt...*; [Bhaṭṭoji-Dīkṣita's *Siddhāntakaumudī* with Vāsudeva Dīkṣita's *Bālamanoramā*, Jñānendra Sarasvatī's *Tattva-bodhinī*, etc., Part IV, 2nd edn., Banaras 1951, pp. 10-12 & 14]. *Jayamaṅgalā* offers an alternative derivation of the stem *varyā*—from √*var* [*a*], a caur-ādika ubhaya-padin seṭ root [*varayati, varayate*,etc.] meaning *īpsā*, with the help of the same gerundive-forming suffix,—*ya* [*t*]—[<*aco yah*>— Paṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 3.1.97]. Cf. *varyyo varaṇīyaḥ prārthanīyaḥ vara īpsāyām iti caur-ādikāt yat......*[Jayamaṅgalā on the *Bhaṭṭikāvya*, ed. Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, 4th edn., Calcutta, 1908. Part II, 6/50°, pp. 321-322]; Bharata-Mallika also

The corresponding masculine[1] and neuter[2] stems derivable

hints at this view. Cf. *kecit* [= *Jayamaṅgala-pādāḥ*] *tu varat kepse ity asmāt tavyānīya-yāḥ iti ye varyya iti rūpam ity āhuḥ*| [*Mugdha-bodhinī* on the *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya*, op. cit., p. 322]; But Bhaṭṭi appears to treat of the stem *varya*—as masculine, and Jayamaṅgala supports the masculine form *varyaḥ* with the help of the matvarthīya tad-dhita suffix-*a* [c]—Cf. *Bhaṭṭi* : (*Sugrīvo nāma varyyo 'sau bhavatā cāru-vikramaḥ*) ||[*Bhaṭṭi-kāvya*, op. ct., 6/50^{cd}, p. 322]; Jayamaṅgalā : ......*yad vā avadya-paṇyety* [Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 3.1.101] *atra vṛṅo* (*vṛño—sic* !) *varyyeti striyyām anirodhaḥ anirodhyā satata-pravarttinī varyyā prītir yasyety arśa* [-] *ādy-ac* [Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 5.2.127] *bhavatā saha varyyaḥ prītimān samānavyasanatvāt*........ [*Jayamaṅgalā* on the *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya*, op. cit., p. 322] Mallinātha :...*varyyaḥ mitratvenā* (?) *pratibandhaṁ varaṇīya ity arthaḥ* | *anirodhe 'rthe vṛṅaḥ* (*vṛñaḥ*—sic !) *pūrvavat ṇyad-apavādy eva yat-pratyayānto nipātaḥ* | *kin tu striyām asya nipatanāt puṁsi prayogaḥ kaveḥ svātantryāt* | *yad vā vāryya iti ṇyad-anta-pāṭhaḥ pratyudāharaṇārthaḥ* | *tenārthād udāharaṇasya sujñānatvāt iti bhāvaḥ* || [*Sarva-pathīna* on the *Bhaṭṭi.kāvya*, ed. Gurunātha Vidyā-nidhi, Calcutta,1928, part I, 6/51^{c}, p.371]; Jñānendra-Sarasvatī : *Bhaṭṭis tu...puṁliṅge 'pi yataṁ prāyuṅkta* (*sugrīvo*) <*nāma* (*mama*—sic ?) *varyo 'sau*) *iti* < [*Tattvabodhinī* on Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, op. cit. p. 12]

1. Cf. Bhattoji-Dīkṣita : vṛṅas tu *vāryā: ṛtvijaḥ* [*Siddhānta-kaumudī*, op. cit., p. 13]

2. Bhaṭṭoji.Dīkṣita : .....*śreṣṭhaṁ no dhehi vāryam*; Jayakṛṣṇa-Bhaṭṭa :......*vṛṇ sambhaktau*......(*ṛ-haloḥ*°) Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 3.1.124] *iti ṇyat*; Nāgeśa-Bhaṭṭa : ......(*atra vṛñaḥ* (*vṛṅaḥ*—sic ?) *eva grahaṇam*) *iti* (*eti-stu-śās*°) [Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 3.1.109] *iti sūtre nirūpitam* | [*Siddhānta-kaumudī*, op. cit. p. 433]

regularly from the same root will be vārya —by adding a sarūpa suffix,—[ṇ] *ya* [*t*]—, in the same sense.[1]

But √vṛ [ñ], a sauv-ādika ubhaya-padin set root [*vṛṇoti vṛṇute*, etc.] meaning varaṇa, allows another gerundive-forming sarūpa suffix, —[*k*] *ya* [*p*] —, in the sense of nirodha [= *pratibandha* = *niyama*], and the resultant stems are *vṛtya*—in the masculine and neuter and *vṛtyā*—in the feminine [by adding—(ṭ) *ā* (*p*)—to the masculine stem].[2]

We may also arrive at the stems *varaṇīya*—in the masculine and neuter, and *varaṇīyī*—in the feminine [by adding the feminine-forming suffix—(*ṭ*) *ā* (*p*)—to the masculine stem] from √*vṛ* [ṅ], *vṛ* [*ñ*] and *var* [*a*] with the help of an asarūpa k tya suffix, —*anīya* [*r*]—[3], by *vā* 'sarūpa-vidhi.[4]

The afore-stated sarūpa and asarūpa kṛtya suffixes. viz.,—*ya* [*t*]—, [*ṇ*] *ya* [*t*] —, —[*k*] *ya* [*p*]—and -*anīya* [*r*]—, are added in the karmavācya.[5]

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1. Cf. Pāṇini : *ṛ-halor ṇyat* [*Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 3.1.124]
   Jñānendra-Saraswatī : ......*astriyām tu vṛṇaḥ* (*ṛ-halor*[0] *ṇyat*), *vāryā ṛtvijaḥ* / *ṛtvijām api yajñamātre varaṇīyatvād anirodho 'sti, strītvam to nāstīti ṇyad eva bhavati*| *etac ca Vṛttikāra matam* /
   Contra Vāsudeva-Dīkṣita : ......*atra 'vṛṅ sambhaktau' ity asmād ṇyad ity arthaḥ* <*avadya-paṇya-varyā*[0]) [Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 3.1.101] *iti nipātana-siddho yat tu na, atra nirodhasya niyamasya* (?) *vivakṣitatvāt* [*Siddhānta-kaumudī*. op. cit,, pp. 12 & 14]
2. Cf. Pāṇini : *eti-stu-śās-vṛ-dṛ-juṣaḥ kyap* [*Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 3.1.109]
   Bhaṭṭoji-Dīkṣita : (*vṛ iti vṛño grahaṇam*) [...] *na vṛṅaḥ*| *vṛtyaḥ*|......*vṛtyā* (') *nyā* / [*Siddhānta-kaumudī*, op. cit. pp. 13 & 11]
3. Cf. Pāṇini : *tavyat-tavyā* (') *nīyaraḥ* [*Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 3.1.96]
4. Cf. Pāṇini : *vā 'sarūpo 'striyām* [*Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 3.1.94]
5. Cf. Pāṇini : tayor eva kṛtya-kta-khal-arthāḥ [*Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 3.4.70]
   Bhattoji-Dikṣita : ete bhāva-karmaṇor eva syuḥ / [*Siddhānta-kaumudī*, op. cit., p. 4]

Of the gerundive stems thus formed *varyā*, *vārya*--[masculine] and *vārya*—[neuter] are yoga-rūḍha because they yield both the yaugika [derivative] and rūḍha [restricted by usage] senses in each case. In other words, we have here both the vyutpatti-nimitta and the pravṛtti-nimitta senses. On the contrary, the remaining stems, viz., *vṛtya* [masculine], *vṛtyā* [feminine], *vṛtya* [neuter], *varaṇīya* [masculine], *varaṇīyā* [feminine] and *varaṇīya* [neuter], are all yaugika inasmuch as they give us the yaugika or vyutpatti-nimitta sense only in each case.

Under these circumstances the stem *vareṇya*—in the Bhaṭṭi hemistich quoted above cannot be derived from Pāṇini's point of view.[1] Even though intended in the yaugika [= vyutpatti-nimitta] sense it is virtually avyutpanna and rūḍha [having the pravṛtti nimitta sense only].

The derivation of this stem has been envisaged by Śākaṭāyana.[2] But his uṇ-ādi sūtras are a-Pāṇinīya and less

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1. We cannot derive the stem *vareṇya* from √*vṛ* [*ṅ*] [kraiy-ādika ātmane-padin seṭ root meaning *sambhakti*] with the help of the Vedic gerundive forming suffix—[*k*] enya— [cf. Paṇini : *kṛtyārthe tavai-ken-kenya-tvanaḥ* (*Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 3.4.14)] because this suffix being k—it does not allow guṇation of the radical vowel [cf. Pāṇini : k-ṅ-iti ca (*Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 1.1.5)].
   Again, we cannot add the tad-dhita suffix–eṇya–[cf. Pāṇini : *prāvṛṣa eṇyaḥ* (*Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 4.3.17)] to the conjugational base √*vṛ* [*ṅ*].

2. Cf. (*vṛña eṇyaḥ*) [Bhaṭṭoji-Dīkṣita's *Siddhānta-kaumudī* op. cit., *Uṇ-ādi-prakaraṇa*, 3/378, p.201]; Vāsudeva-Dīkṣita : *vṛñ varaṇe, asmād eṇyaḥ-pratyayaḥ | guṇe vareṇya iti rūpam* [*Bālamanoramā* on Bhaṭṭoji-Dīkṣita's *Siddhāntakaumudī*, op. cit., p. 201]; Ujjvaladatta : *vṛñ varaṇe asmād eṇyaḥ|vareṇyaḥ śreṣṭhaḥ|ṇopadeśa-prayojanam vareṇyayateḥ kvip ṇi-lopā* (') *l-lopa-ya-lopā vareṇ iti*

authentic.[1]

ṇatva-śravaṇaṁ yathā syāt anyathā padāntasyeti[Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, 8.4.37] pratiṣedhāt ṇatvaṁ na syād iti puruṣottamdevaḥ | iha prāvṛṣa eṇyaḥ [Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, 4.3.17] | ity aṇo 'pavādāt jñāpakād anyato py [!] eṇyasya sad-bhāvāt śuśrūṣeṇyo vareṇya ity api sādhayanti [?] kecid ity api Deva-vṛttau [Uṇ-ādi-sūtra-vṛtti, ed. Jīvānanda Vidyā-sāgara, 1873, 3/98, p. 128]

1. Cf. Pāṇini : uṇ-ādayo bahulam [Aṣṭādhyāyī, 3.3.1]; Patañjali : Naigama-rūḍhi-bhavaṁ hi susādhu [Vārtika] | Naigamāś ca rūḍhibhavāś cauṇādikāḥ susādhavaḥ kathaṁ syuḥ ? nāma ca dhātujam āha Nirukte [Vārttika]......vyākaraṇe śakaṭasya ca tokam [Vārttika]; Kaiyaṭa : ......uṇ-ādīnāṁ śāstrāntara-paṭhitānāṁ sādhutvā ['] bhyanujñānārtham astv iti bhāvaḥ | ......Nigamaś Chandas tatra bhava ity aṇ......| rūḍhiḥ prasiddhiḥ, tatra bhavāḥ| saṁjñā-śabdā ity arthaḥ |......anyair apy ācāryaiḥ śabdānāṁ prakṛty-ādi-vibhāgena vyutpādanam abhyupagatam... ; Nāgeśa-Bhaṭṭa : ......Pāṇininā bodhita-sādhutvam eva susādhutvaṁ, samprati prayogārthatvāt......sarvābhyaḥ prakṛtibhyaḥ sarva-pratyayānāṁ tat-tad-rūpeṇa vidhānan tu Brahmaṇā 'pi durupa-pādam iti bhāvaḥ |......Pāṇines tu tāni avyutpannāny eveti bhāvaḥ | idañ ca (āyan—ey-īn-ī°) ti sūtre [7.1.2] Bhāṣye spaṣṭam | evañ ca (kṛ-vā-pe) [1/1] ty-ādy-uṇ-ādi-sūtrāṇi Śākaṭāyanasyeti sūcitam| ......Nirukte āha Niruktakāraḥ, Śākaṭāyanaś ca sva-kṛte vyākaraṇe āha...[Mahābhāṣya with Kaiyaṭa's Pradīpa and Nāgeśa's Uddyota ed. Guruprasāda Śāstrin, Benares City, 1938 part III, pp.285-287]; Vāsudeva-Dikṣita : tāni cemāni sūtrāṇi Śākaṭāyana-muni-praṇītāni [—] na tu Pāṇininā-praṇitānīti......uṇ-ādīnāṁ śāstrā-ntara-paṭhitānāṁ sādhutvā (') bhyanujñānārthaṁ bahula-grahaṇam iti Kaiyaṭaḥ |......uṇ-ādi-pratyayāntāḥ śabdāḥ Pāṇinimate 'vyutpa-nnā eva |......uṇ-ādayo hy avyutpannāni prātipadikānīti Bhāṣye uktam |......vyutpatti-pakṣaś ca nirākṛtaḥ | ato 'py uṇ-ādi-sūtrāṇāṁ na Pāṇinīyatvam |......evaṁ ca kvacid Bhāṣye uṇ-ādīnāṁ vyutpa-

(ii) Secondly, if the authenticity of Śākaṭāyana's uṇ-ādi sūtras be accepted then the stem *vareṇya* will happen to be yoga-rūḍha [having both the pravṛtti-nimitta and the vyutpatti-nimitta senses]. But this process would challange Pāṇini's (*eti-stu-śās-vṛ-dṛ-juṣaḥ kyap*) [*Aṣṭādhyāyī*], 3.1.109.[1]

Therefore, the gerundival adjective *vareṇya*- and its word-forms cannot be derived from Pāṇini's point of view.

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nnatvāśrayaṇaṃ śāstrāntara-mūlakam eveti Śabdenduśekhare prapañcitam [*Bālamanoramā* on Bhaṭṭoji-Dikṣita's *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, op. cit., p. 120]

1. Does Cakradhara derive the stem *varyā*-from $\sqrt{}$*vṛ* [ñ], a sauvādika ubhaya padin set root meaning *varaṇa*.? But this is questionable.

A NOTE ON YATRAKĀMĀVASĀYITVA – THE EIGTH SIDDHI OF THE AṆIMĀDI GROUP

*Ram Shankar Bhattacharya**

While commenting on the word *aṇimādi* in the *yogasūtra* 3.45, Vyāsa enumerates the eight *siddhis* as: (1) aṇimā, (2) laghimā, (3) mahimā,[1] (4) prāpti, (5) prākāmya, (6) vaśitva, (7) īśitva and (8) yatrakāmāvasāyitva. This group of eight *siddhis*, also called *mahāsiddhis*[2] is designated as *aisvaraguna*[3] and is found almost in all the treatises on yoga and in most of the Purāṇic and Āgamic passages that deal with the *reilehutis*.

There are, however, slight variations in these names; e. g. vaśitā for vaśitva, īśitva or īśitā for īśitva, and yatrakāmāvasāyitā for yatrakāmāvasāyitva.

The name yatrakāmāvasāyitva (or the variant yatrakāmāvaśāyitā) deserves some explanation as its meaning is somewhat obscure. The meanings of the names of the other *siddhis* of this group are sufficiently clear.

It is to be noted in this connection that some read garimā in the place of yatrakāmāvasāyitva while mention-

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* Varanasi.

1. These three are masculine words. In the *prātipadika* forms they are to be read as *aṇiman*, *laghiman* and *mahiman* respectively.
2. *Siddhasiddhāntasaṃgraha* 5.55
3. *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* 49.30

ing the names of the eight *siddhis*.[1] We have proved elsewhere[2] that the inclusion of garimā in the *aṣṭasiddhi*-group is not justified, for it is based on the wrong conception of the character of the *siddhis* of this group. It can easily be understood that yatrakāmāvasāyitva is the power for creating the *brahmāṇḍa* and as such it cannot be replaced by garimā, the power for assuming weight or bulkiness.

Some scholars think that the actual name is Kāmāvasāyitva[3] (or kāmāvasāyitā). These scholars take the word *yatra* used before the word kāmāvasāyitva (or kāmāvasāyitā) in ancient texts as an indeclinable having no connection with kāmāvasāyitva. These scholars seem to explain away the word *yatra* as meaning in the group of the eight *siddhis* and consequently they think that *yatra* has no connection with Kāmāvasāyitva.

There are, however, passages that bear the expression *yac ca* or *tathā*[4] before kāmāvasāyitva or kāmāvasāyitā. In such passages

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1. Vide *Mānasollāsa* (10.8) by Sureśvara on the *Dakṣiṇāmūrtistotra*; yogic power and God realization, p.282; The "*Nāgojibhaṭṭa vṛtti*" and the "*Maṇiprabhāvṛtti*" on *Yogasūtra* 3.45; S. N. Sastri and R. Phukan in their English commentaries on *Sāṃ. kārikā* 23.
2. Vide my forthcoming paper entitled 'Is it justified to read garimā in the list of the eight *siddhis*'. ?
3. E. g. Kṛṣṇanāth Nyāyapañcānana in his commentary on the *Tattvakaumudī* after quoting *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* 40.29-30 (in which the expression yatrakāmāvasāyitva is used) explains the word kāmāvasāyitva and not yatrakāmāvasāyitva. The printed reading of the name in the *Mārkaṇḍeya* has palatal ś which must be taken as a printing mistake.
4. The *Tattvakaumudī* with the "*Vaṃśīdharī*" commentary reads : यच्च कामावसायित्वम्. सा सत्यसङ्कल्पता (on kārikā 23). The same reading is found in the edition by Dr. G. N. Jha, *Amarakośa*, according to the commentary "Vyākhyāsudhā", reads in I. 1.36. (with palatal ś तथा कामावशायिता)

yacca (i. e. yat + ca) would mean: 'and the *siddhi*' (known as kāmāvasāyitva); similarly *tathā* would mean 'and also' (the *siddhi* known as kāmāvasāyitva).

Having made a careful study of the ancient passages on the *aṣṭasiddhi* group, we are of opinion that *yatra* must be read with kāmāvasāyitva (or kāmāvasāyitā). Owing to the obscurity of the word yatrakāmāvasāyitva[1], later commentators failed to understand the import of the word and the significance of *yatra* as well. Consequently these commentators explained the word in a wrong way. It appears that owing to this obscurity some commentators read the word with palatal *ś* and derived the word from the root śī (to lie) bearing sense of remaining or residing[2]. We firmly believe that this obscurity compelled some teachers to coin

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1. Bhikṣu regards the word as a technical term of the yoga school (तान्त्रिकी परिभाषा पुराणेष्वेवमवगमात्) In most of the Purāṇic chapters on yoga the word occurs. The names of these eight *siddhis* are to be known as '*pāribhāṣiko śabda*' and this is why they are to be taken in the senses as desired by the teachers of the ancient yoga school, e. g. Aṇimā, though expressive of the sense of a quality (अणोर्भाव: अणिमा) is to be taken as a power, that creates (अणुत्व).
2. कामेन इच्छया अवशेतुं शीलं यस्य स यत्र कामावशायी तस्य भाव: यत्र कामावशायित्वम् । अनेकार्थत्वाद् धातूनां शीतिष्ठतौ वर्तते । येन गुणेन दिव्यन्तरिक्षे भूमौ वा अवस्थायित्वम् Vyākhyāsudhā on *Amara* I. I. 36 deserves कामावशायिता and explains कामानवशेते शीङो णि नि: कामावशायिनो भाव: सत्यसंकल्पता स्यते णिनिनादन्त्यमदयं कश्चिन् मन्यते । (i. e. the name is कामावसायिता) । The Trikāṇḍa Cintāmaṇi on *Amara* (Svargavarga verse 27). comments कामेन इच्छया स्मरं अवशायितुं शीलमस्य, तस्य भाव: । अनेकार्थत्वाद् धातूनामिति शीङ: तिष्ठत्यर्थं इति सुभू: येन गुणेन दिव्यन्तरिक्षे भूमिषु अवस्थायित्वम् ।

a new word as '*sarvakāmāvasāyitā*' for 'yatrakāmāvasāyitā'[1] Owing to this obscurity the easy word *satyasaṅkalpatā*, originally used in the *Vyāsabhāṣya* 3.45 to express the character of this *siddhi*, came to be used as another name of this *siddhi* in later period.

Following arguments are advanced to justify the reading yatrakāmāvasāyitva (or yatrakāmāvasāyitā) as one word. The import of the word will also be discussed in the sequel.

(1) Almost all the authoritative passages (either in verse or in prose) that enumerate the eight *siddhis* the word *yatra* is invariably read before kāmāvasāyitva or kāmāvasāyitvā. The expressions like *yacca* etc. read before this word in some texts are to be deemed as corrupt as will be proved later. It deserves grave consideration as to why kāmāvasāyitva or kāmāvasāyitā is always preceded by words like *yatra*, *yacca* and the like. The invariable existence of yatra before kāmāvasāyitva or kāmāvasāyitā in all texts edited critically or properly undoubtedly proves that *yatra* is a part of the name of the eighth *siddhi*.

(2) If *yatra* is not taken as part of the name, it must be explained as expressive of the sense 'in that passage' (*yatra* in the sense of *yasmin*). Such a sense in the passage in question is quite inapplicable, for we do not get any plausible answer to the question : Why is the word *yatra* used after making mention of the seven *siddhis* or before making mention of the eighth *siddhis* ?

(3) Moreover if *yatra* is not regarded as a part of the name of the eighth *siddhi*, the name would be kāmāvasāyitva or kāmāvasāyitā. Can kāmāvasāyitva be supposed as a *siddhi* that arises from the *saṁyama* on the *arthavattva* – aspect of the five bhūtas ?[2] Kāmāvasāyitva means the state or quality of being kāmāvasāyin. Kāmāvasāyin means one who possesses *kāmāvasāya*. *Avasāya* means

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1. *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa* I. 6. 18
2. Vide *Yogasūtra* 3.44; *Tattvavaiśāradī* and *Yogavārttika* on 3.45

either determination or completion. It may mean end or termination also.[1]

Taking all these meanings into consideration we may say that *Kāmāvasāya* cannot be regarded as a 'siddhi' which enables one to creat the *brahmāṇḍa*. Kāmāvasāyitva, technically speaking, is the same as *Kāmāvasāya* which comes under the state of *niḥsaṁkalpa citta* and as such Kāmāvasāyitva can hardly comes under the category of the supernormal power of the aforesaid kind. Creation presupposes the existence of *Kāma* which again has its source in *saṁkalpa* (vide Manu 2.3).

The foregoing discussion shows that *yatra* must be attached to *Kāmāvasāyitva*, so that the compound word yatrakāmāvasāyitva would yield the sense of some supernormal power, which has direct control over the *bhūtaprakṛtis*. The word 'yatra kāmāvasāyitva' clearly expresses the sense of a *siddhi* of the aforesaid kind if analysed properly.[2] Without *yatra* the word kāmāvasāya would mean

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1. The word कामावसायित्व is explained by Kṛṣṇanātha in his commentary on *Sāṁ. kā.* 23 as : कामात् मयैतत् कर्तव्यं मयैतद् भवितव्यं वा इत्यादि कल्पात् अवसातुं निश्चेतुं सत्यान् कर्तुमिति यावत् शीलं येषां तत्त्वम् । Similarly Gurupāda Haldar in his Vṛddhatraye remarks : काम स्वेच्छया अवसाययितुं शीलमस्येति कामावसायी तद्भावः कामावसायिता (p.241) Even these explanations, which were afforded to make Kāmāvasāya as equal to *satyasaṁkalpatā* show that Kāmāvasāya cannot possess the same character as yatrakāmāvasāyitva. Yatrakāmāvasāyitva has its direct touch over the *bhūtaprakṛtis*, while Kāmāvasāya as explained by the later commentators consists in the fulfilment of desires only.

2. यस्मिन् विषयेऽस्य कामः इच्छा भवति, यस्मिन् विषये योगिनो व्यवसायो भवति तं विषयं स्वीकारद्वारेण अभिलाषासमाप्तिपर्यन्तं नयन्तीत्यर्थः । (Bhoja on *yogasūtra* 3.45) यत्र कामावसायित्वं ब्रह्मादिस्तम्बपर्यन्तं यत्र कामस्तत्रैवास्य स्वेच्छया स्थानासनविहारान् आचरतीति (Gauḍapāda on *Sāṁ. Kā.* 23)

the particular state of *citta* as stated above. While with *yatra* the word would clearly express the sense of the power in the form of *saṁkalpasiddhi*.

Though the verse of this *siddhi* quoted by Bhikṣu, in his *yogasārasaṁgraha* (p. 58) from some ancient texts, does not bear the very name of the *siddhi*, yet it clearly alludes to this name. The expression '*yatkāmāstadavasyati*' stated to describe the character of this *siddhi* means 'the desire, whatever it may be, is fully achieved (by the yogin)'. This is why this *siddhi* is also known by the name '*satyasaṁkalpatā*' (true-willedness) in the later period[1]. It is the state of the yogin whose will always takes effect irresistebly and indefearibly.

It connot be argued that *satyasaṁkalpatā* (i. e. the eighth siddhi known as yatrakāmāvasāyitva) is the same as prakāmya, for *satyasaṁkalpatā* is the power that gives rise to creation, while prakāmya

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यस्मिन् कामस्तत्रैव तदवसानं तदन्तं गच्छति । (Vivaraṇa on *Yogasutra* 3.45) यस्मिन् विषयेऽस्य कामः इच्छा जायते तस्मिन्नेवास्य अवसायो भवतीति सत्यसंकल्पता एव यत्र कामावसायित्वम् । Note by Kalivara Vedāntavāgīśa on *Y. S.* 3.45). The *Liṅgapurāṇa* (I. 88.22-23) showed the character of yatrakāmāvasāyitva as :

इच्छया तस्य रूपाणि भवन्ति न भवन्ति च ।
यत्र कामावसायित्वं त्रैलोक्ये सचराचरे ॥२२॥
शब्दस्पर्शौ रसो गन्धो रूपं चैव मनस्तथा ।
प्रवर्तन्तेऽस्य चेच्छातो न भवन्ति यथेच्छया ॥२३॥

1. Some teachers think that the name of the eight *siddhi* is satyasaṁkalpatā; ep. the comment by Bhāvagaṇeśa : सत्यसंकल्पत्वं तु "यत् कामस्तदवस्यति" इत्यनेनोक्तम्, अवस्यति प्राप्नोतीत्यर्थः । (on *y. Sutra*. 3.45) यत् कामस्तदवस्यति is a quarter of a verse quoted by Bhikṣu in his Vārttika on *yogosutra* 3.45. Nāgeśa also reads satyasaṁkalpatā as a separate *siddhi* coming under *aṇimādi*; This shows that according to Nāgeśa, more than eight *siddhis* are enumerated in the aṇimādi group.

has nothing to do with creation[1] and in other words on yoga. Similarly it cannot be held that the *siddhi* known as kriyāphalāśrayatva (in *yogasūtra* 2.36) is the same as the satyasaṁkalpatā[2].

It is gratifying to note that the word *yatrakāmaṁ* (in accusative case) is used in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.* 4.3.12 (*sa īyate amṛto yatrakāmaṁ*). That *yatrakāmaṁ* is one word is clear from the *Śāṅkarabhāṣya* also.

It should be noted in passing that the ancient Sāṅkhya teacher Devala discussed the nature of yatrakāmāvasāyitva with its three sub-divisions, viz. chāyāveśa, avadhyānāveśa and aṅgapraveśa (*Mokṣakāṇḍa*, p. 216-217). The difinitions of these three as given here are not quite clear.

As to what factors led the scholars to take *yatra* as not being compounded with kāmāvasāyitva, we venture to say that the expressions like '*yatra kāmo' vasīyate*' (*Bhāgavata* XI. 15-17) used to refer to this siddhi are the cause for taking *yatra* as separated from kāmāvasāyitva.

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1. Vide the difinitions and illustrations as given in the *Vyāsabhāṣya* 3.45.
2. Bhikṣu defines यत्रकामावसायित्व as यद् यदर्थतया यद् यद् वस्तु संकल्पयति तद् तद् वस्तु तदर्थकमेव भवति (yogavārttika). यद् यदर्थतया संकल्पयति तत् तस्मै प्रयोजनाय कल्पते (*Tattvavaiśāradī* 3.45). यत्र कामावसायित्व-संज्ञा तु अष्टमीसिद्धिः, विषस्यापि स्वेच्छया रूपा । अमृतीकरण सामर्थ्यम् । अमृतस्यापि विषीकरण-सामर्थ्यम् इत्यादि (*yogasārasaṅgraha*, p. 58). These definitions show the essence of yatrakāmāvasāyitā in satyasaṅkalpatā.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF OṀ-KĀRA

Karun Krishna Brahmachari

Śrī-Sītārāmadāsa Oṁkāranātha known as Oṁkāra, is constant to the time-honoured sādhanā (spiritual enterprise) of a sage of antiquity and to the pursuit of Reality as the summum bonum of human existence. A God-dedicated soul like that of Oṁ-kāra reveals to us this supreme truth that our limbs and organs, our intellect and faculties, our dim intuitions and deeper feelings, our love for family and children and other worldly pursuits are but meant to lead to one all-important goal, the realisation of God. We are intended by our creator to live in two worlds of habitation simultaneously; to feel with every breath that we take the interpenetration of the transcendental domain into the mundane region. This is an eminently difficult process, successfully cultivated only by the highest among us, the chosen few on whom the grace of God descends. It is indeed a rare fortune to visualize this most glorious spectacle on earth,—a man belonging indeed to this world, but essentially out of it, one who while ostensibly conforming to the laws of life really transcends them, who looks upon all objects and human relationships as but a transparent veil through which the vision of the other world reveals itself as a haunting, overpowering reality.

Śrī-Oṁkāra has formulated his own philosophy of the Supreme. His philosophy is based on the direct vision of the Ultimate Reality. He has been but a transparent medium through which the Supreme Truth and Reality has reached human vision. He is also a transcendental transmitter; he not only records and

registers but also circulates and transmits It is the Reality which reveals Itself through the agen y or ministration of Śrī-Oṁkāra. And the Truth that he reveals is his own unique discovery; no one before him had even a glimpse identical with, or similar to, it.

The fundamental principle of Śrī-Oṁk. ra's philosophy that emerges from his prolific and scholarly treatises is that God is Embodied and at the same time unencumbered by Form, Personal as well as Impersonal, simultaneously Determinate and Indeterminate, and that both aspects of him are equally vital Not that one conception is on a lower locus standi of realization than the other. The current doctrines on this issue propound that the realization of the indeterminate aspect of the Absolute is a higher and more perfect stage of experience than the vision of the determinate aspect of God. Śrī Oṁkāra modifies this view-point and avers that God and the Absolute stand on an equal locus standi. On the strength of his own indubitable realization he promulgates that the Darśana (Vision) of God is not just a stepping-stone to the attainment of the Absolute, for, even after and during indeterminate realization, visualization (darśana) of God may take place, as Śrī-Oṁkāra's own experience testifies.

What, then, should be the objective of the seeker after the Truth (sādhaka)? The immediate aim of the seeker, according to Śrī-Oṁkāra, ought to be direct Vision (Sākāra-darśana), the compassionate grace that is, of meeting God face to face and of exchanging words with Him. But this immediate aim, when fulfilled, should be followed by the ultimate aim, which consists in the realization that all that exists, is God, that there is nothing on earth which is not God, "*Vāsudevaḥ sarvam*", that all is God, everything is God. There is nothing outside Him. Direct Vision of God (Bhagavat-sākṣātkāra) should be followed by this realization of everything being God and God being everything. How this latter stage of experience may be reached need not concern us, however; for, as

Śrī-Oṁkāra emphasizes, once you have met your God face to face, your task is done, the rest being God's own responsibility. Once you have had your Vision of the Chosen Deity (Iṣṭa-Deva), it is His turn to look after you and do for you what is necessary, Then will Mount Sumeru bend its head and the Himalayas make obeisance and both make way. Then will the ocean grant you passage and there will be no bar whatever. You need not strive for yourself any more, God will do what is good for you. He will manage your affairs, on your behalf, far better than you could ever do for yourself.

What is the Ultimate Truth and Reality (parama-tattva) ? This is the question that Śrī-Oṁkāra has been continually asking and answering in his philosophical treatises. According to him Praṇava is the Supreme Reality (Parama-Tattva). It is out of Praṇava that there emerges the creation of the universe; it is in Praṇava that it rests; and it is into Praṇava, again, that it will merge in the long run during universal cataclysm. Praṇava is both Saguṇa Brahman (God) and Nirguṇa Brahman (Absolute). It is the embodiment of eternal Existence (Sat), eternal Consciousness (Cit) and pure Bliss (Ānanda) transcending all distinctions. As God (Īśvara), it is possessed of an infinite number of auspicious attributes and, as Absolute, it is indeterminate. Praṇava is the fountain-source from which emanate the fifty 'mātṛkā-varṇas' and the mantras chanted by Śaṅkara in the Tantras are all revelations of Praṇava. The universe is the manifestation of Praṇava. The Veda, which is the Eternal Verbum (Śabda-Brahman), is the vibration (spandana) of Praṇava. It is Praṇava that is Brahmā the Creator, Viṣṇu the Sustainer and Śiva the Annihilator. They are the transcendental (a-Prākṛta) Embodiments of Praṇava. The seeker (sādhaka) aspiring after perfection may take recourse to the spiritual discipline (sādhanā) for the blessed Vision of his Chosen Deity (Iṣṭa-Deva). He may meet his Iṣṭa-Deva face to face and receive boon. But he will not attain to the summum

bonum of sādhanā (spiritual endeavour) until he realizes Praṇava both in its Sa-guṇa and Nir-guṇa aspects, i.e., Apara (immanent) Praṇava and Para (transcendent) Praṇava. The enlightened soul (siddha) realizes the immanent aspect of Praṇava, the Eternal Verbum, "Oṁ", before he can experience the transcendent aspect of Praṇava.

Śrī-Oṁkāra has expounded in his *Oṁ-kāra-Bhāṣya* on the *Brahmasūtras* that Praṇava is the Ultimate Reality (Brahman) by means of scriptural testimony. None of his predecessors commenting on the Vedānta has propounded that Oṁ-kāra is the Supreme Reality without-a-second (Advaya Brahman). In his "*Praṇava-premapīyūṣa*" commentry on the *Smṛti-Prasthāna*, i. e., the *Śrīmad-Bhagavad-gītā-Upniṣad*, from the stand-point of Oṁ-kāra he has established the supremacy and super-excellence of Praṇava. Neither the exclusive *M*onism *Kevalādvaitavāda* of *Śrī-Śaṅkarācārya* nor the Distinctive Monotheism *Viśiṣṭādvaitavāda* of *Śrī-Rāmānujācārya* nor the Dualism-cum-Monism (Dvaitādvaita-vāda) of Śrī-Nimbārkācārya is Praṇava-vāda. So here Śrī Śrī-Oṁkāra blesses mankind with original interpretations of the Prasthāna-trayī (triple canons) and yet his originality is both based on the plinth and foundation of the verbal testimony and corroborated by his direct realization of the Supreme Reality i. e., Praṇava.

Ontologically, Praṇava-vāda synthesizes the rival metaphysics cf Śrī-Śaṅkara and Śrī-Rāmānuja and yet is not identical with any of them. While Śrī-Rāmānuja denies the Indeterminate Absolute (Nir-guṇa Brahman) and upholds Sa-guṇa Brahman (God) as the Supreme Principle, Śrī-Śaṅkara maintains that Nir-guṇa Brahman (Indeterminate Absolute) is the Ultimate Reality. The cosmic system of causality is accidental to Brahman and does not affect its essential nature (svarūpa). The world of phenomena is a super-imposition (adhyāsa) without any ontological value. Thus while the one (Śrī-Śaṅkara) minimizes the importance of Sa-guṇa-Brahman (God), the other (Śrī-Rāmānuja) conceives of the undiffe-

rentiated Absolute (Nir-guṇa Brahman) as a mere abstraction. But Śrī-Śrī-Oṁkāra avers that both Sa-guṇa Brahman (God) and Nir-guṇa Brahman (Absolute) are real. For just as the Vision of Sa-guṇa Brahman (God) may precede the realization of the Indeterminate Absolute (Nir-guṇa Brahman), so such ecstatic vision of God (sākāra-darśana) involving communication with Him is not impossible even when one is in the stage of indeterminate trance (nir-vikalpa samādhi). Śrī-Śrī-Oṁkāra himself was absorbed in indeterminate trance (nir-vikalpa samādhi) and on the 9th or 10th of Vaiśākha, 1344, V. S., the 22nd or 23rd April, 1937, appeared the Supreme Lord in the Form of Jagannātha Deva, encircled in an aureole of transcendental light and commanded, "Go, go and preach the name." But if Sa-guṇa Brahman (God) and Nir-guṇa Brahman (Absolute) are both real, there is no fundamental distinction between a devotee (bhakta) and a votary of undifferentiated knowledge (jñānin). The latter has for his be-all and end-all of existence identity with the Absolute (Nir-guṇa Brahman), the former hankers after perennial communion with Sa-guṇa Brahman (God) to enjoy the eternal divine sports (nitya-līlā).

Praṇava has a two-fold aspect, viz. (i) the quintessential (sūkṣma) Praṇava and (ii) the more tangible variant (sthūla) of it. The quintessential (sūkṣma) Praṇava is Oṁ-kāra. The more tangible (sthūla) variant of Praṇava is revealed in the form, '*Namaḥ Śivāya*'. While sthūla Praṇava is intended for all, Sūkṣma Praṇava is solely for the elect. Very few, indeed, are entitled to this quintessential (sūkṣma) Praṇava; it is the prerogative of the enlightened soul that is liberated from the thraldom of māyā (extrinsic deluding potency of the Supreme Lord) while still alive in the body (jīvanmukta). Not that others can never aspire to realize it. Everybody can mount to that height, but the way to mount it is, at first, to take recourse to other forms of Oṁkāra, i. e., to Nāman (Name) and to Mantra (Incantation), and then to proceed gradually until the final desideratum is obtained

and susceptibility of attaining this final quintessential Praṇava develops. The most striking point in Śrī-Śrī-Oṁkāra's exposition lies in the truth that Praṇava has not to be uttered from without, it wells up from within and fills the sādhaka (seeker after the Truth), who, diffident about himself, begins benignly from the lowest stage and chants the nectarine Names of the Lord strenuously until the advent of the transcendental sound (Nāda) and out of this sui generis supra-mundane sound eventually emerges Praṇava, the Supreme Reality.

The *Nāda-bindu-Upaniṣad* delineates the emergence of the transcendental sound (Nāda) in the following vein :

tataḥ kāla-vaśād eva prārabdhe tu kṣayam gate...
brahma-praṇava-sandhānaṁ nādo jyotirmayaḥ śivaḥ.
swayam āvirbhaved ātmā meghā'pāye'ṁśumān iva...[1]

"Then, in course of time, with the extinction of accumulated previous deeds (prārabdha), this veritable embodiment of transcendental sound (Nāda) resulting from the union of Praṇava (Oṁkāra) with Brahman—who is absolute effulgence itself, and is the bestower of all well-being—shines forth in person like the sun at the dispersion of the clouds." The aspirant (yogin) should sit in the Siddhāsana posture, practise the Vaiṣṇavī Mudrā,[2] and listen constantly to Nāda (internal sound) through the right ear. The sound (Nāda) which the seeker (sādhaka), thus, practises renders

1. *Nāda-bindu-Upaniṣad*, 29b-30
2. *antar-lakṣyaṁ bahir dṛṣṭir nimeṣo'nmeṣa-varjitā.*
eṣā sā vaiṣṇavī mudrā sarva-tantreṣu gopitā...
Śāṇḍilya-Upaniṣad, 1.7.14

Centring one's mind on an inward object while his eyes are looking outside without the closing and opening of his eyelids, has been designated as Vaiṣṇavī Mudrā. This is kept concealed in all the Tāntric works.

him unsusceptible to all external sounds. Having thus overcome the obstacles, the mind of the aspirant enters the Transcendental Reality (turya-pada) in the course of a fortnight.[1] This Upaniṣad has recorded the stages of Nāda. In the begnining of the practice many and various loud sounds reach the aspirant (yogin). Though for some time these sounds grow in pitch and volume, they later become more and more subtle.[2] At the outset, i. e., at the time that the vital air ascends to Brahma-randhra (the thousand-petalled spiritual lotus in the brain), the aspirant experiences the thundering of the ocean, the rumbling of the cloud, the sound of the thundering drum and the resounding roar of the waterfall. This softens to the sound of a drum, gong, kāhala (a kind of drum) in the middle stage, i. e., when vital air becomes still in the Brahma-randhra. At last, i. e., when vital air gets absolutely still in the Brahma-randhra, the height is reached and the seeker hears the sound resembling the jingling of small bells, or the melody of a flute or a lute or the humming of bees. Thus he listens to many such sounds as attain increasing subtlety.[3] Even if loud sounds like the sounds of thundering drums, etc., are heard, the seeker should try to concentrate on Nādas more and more subtle. The subtle Nādas are permanent and the mind, fixed on them, achieves

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1. *siddhā'sane sthito yogī mudrāṁ sandhāya vaiṣṇavīm.*
śṛṇuyād dakṣiṇe karṇe nādam antar-gataṁ sadā.
abhyasyamāno nādo'yaṁ bāhyam āvṛṇute dhvaniḥ.
pakṣād vipakṣam akhilaṁ jitvā turya-padaṁ vrajet.
—*Nāda-bindu-Upaniṣad*, 31-32

2. *śrūyate prathamā'bhyāse nādo nānā-vidho mahān.*
vardhamāne tathā'bhyāse śrūyate sūkṣma-sūkṣma-taḥ.—*Ibid*, 33

3. *ādau jaladhi-jīmūta-bheri-nirjhara-sambhavaḥ.*
madhye mardala-śabdā'bho ghaṇṭā-kāhala-jas tathā.
ante tu kiṅkiṇī-vaṁśa-vīṇā-bhramara-niḥsvanaḥ.
iti nānā-vidhā nādāḥ śrūyante sūkṣma-sūkṣma-taḥ.—*Ibid*, 34-35

perpetual stillness. The yogin (aspirant) may change his concentration from the gross sound to the subtle, or from the subtle to the gross, but he should not allow his mind to be diverted from them towards other objects, the mind being susceptible to distraction arising from rajas (the element of activity).[1] He should fix the mind on the Nāda and no other object If the mind passes to other things, the state of ecstasy (samādhi) cannot be attained; but if it is fixed on any Nāda, the state of ecstasy (samādhi) will be realized. The mind gets fixed on a Nāda, whether gross or subtle, on which it first concentrates and then is dessolved along with that Nāda.

The mind becomes oblivious of all external entities and gets united with Nāda like water with milk and then, all of a sudden sinks in Cid-ākāśa (pure and unadulterated consciousness) which is all-pervasive, i. e. Brahman. Hence the aspirant (yogin) who has conquered his senses, should meditate on Nāda which forth with arrests the mind, being beyond all mundane attractions [2] Abandoning all thinking by all means and giving up all enterprises, he should always concentrate his attention on Nāda. The mind becomes absorbed in it.[3]

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1. *mahati śrūyamāṇe tu mahā-bheryādika-dhvanau.*
tatra sūkṣmam sūkṣma-taraṁ nādam eva parāmṛśet.
ghanam utsṛjya vā sūkṣme sūkṣmam utsṛjya vā ghane.
ramamāṇam api kṣiptaṁ mano nā'nyatra cālayet. —*Ibid*, 36-37

2. *yatra kutrā'pi vā nāde lagati prathamaṁ manaḥ.*
tatra tatra sthirībhūtvā tena sārdhaṁ vilīyate.
vismṛtya sakalaṁ bāhyaṁ nāde dugdhā'mbu-van manaḥ.
ekībhūyā'tha sahasā cid-ākāśe vilīyate.
udāsīnas tato bhūtvā sadā'bhyāsena saṁyamī.
unmanī-kārakaṁ sadyo nādam evā'vadhārayet. —*Ibid*, 38-40

3. *sarva-cintāṁ samutsṛjya sarva-ceṣṭā-vivarjitaḥ.*
nādam evā'nusandadhyān nāde cittaṁ vilīyate. —*Ibid*, 41

The *Nāda bindu-Upaniṣad* warmly prescribes the attuning of the mind to N.da, because like a bee soaked in honey, the mind once drenched in transcendental sound (Nāda) is sure to lose interest in everything else. The mind, the internal serpent, is bound by the aroma of sweet sui generis sound (Nāda) while listening to it and forthwith gives up restlessness completely, becomes oblivious of the universe all around and does not wander towards any other direction due to concentration.[1] Nāda serves the purpose of a sharp goad to control the maddened mind-elephant roving in the pleasure-garden of sensual objects. It serves the purpose of a snare for binding the deer, which is the mind. It also represents the shore controlling the ocean of mind. Nāda proceeding from Praṇava (Oṁ-Kāra) which is Brahman, is of the nature of effulgence. The mind becomes absorbed in it. That is the supreme transcendental domain of Viṣṇu.[2]

By thus pursuing supra sensuous sui generis sound (Nāda), the mind may be said to have discovered the secret spring, the elixir of life. In the transcendental sound (Nāda), the life is fulfilled because it is established on eternal bliss and perennial pe..ce. Hence Bindu uplifts the aspirant to Nāda, Nāda to Prāṇa and Prāṇa to Ānanda.[3] Upaniṣad-brahmayogin in his commentary

1. *makarandaṁ pibbn bhṛṅgo gandhān nā'pekṣate yathā.*
nādā'saktaṁ sadā cittaṁ viṣayaṁ na hi kāṅkṣati.
baddhaḥ su-nāda-gandhena sadyaḥ saṁtyakta-cāpalaḥ.
nāda-grahaṇatas cittam antaraṅga-bhujaṅgamaḥ.
vismṛtya viśvam ekā'graḥ kutracin na hi dhāvati.—*Ibid*, 42-44a
2. *mano-matta-gajendrasya viṣayo'dyāna-cāriṇah.*
niyamana-samartho'yaṁ ninādo nisitā'ṅkuśaḥ.
nādo'ntaraṅga-sāraṅga-bandhane vāgurāyate.
antaraṅga-samudrasya rodhe velāyate' pi vā.
brahma-praṇava-saṁlagna-nādo jyotirmayā'tmakaḥ.
manas tatra layam yāti tad viṣṇoḥ paramaṁ padam.—*Ibid*, 44b 47a
3. *Om-kāraṁ bindau nāde taṁ tan tu prāṇe mahaty amum.*
—*Śrīmad-Bhāgavata*, 7.15.53 ef

on the *Maṇḍala-Brāhmaṇa-Upaniṣad* has identified these four with Manas (mind), Buddhi (intellect), Ahaṁkāra (egoity) and Citta (reflection).[1] According to the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata*, these four, viz., Manas etc. are not independent realities but are different aspects of the inner mechanism (antaḥ karaṇa).[2] Bindu, Nāda, Prāṇa and Ānanda are, therefore, the progressive unfoldment of the mind, the Antaḥ-Praṇava (Intrinsic Oṁ-kāra), corresponding to the four-fold manifestation of the same mind as Bāhya-Praṇava (Extrinsic Oṁ-kāra). Bondage in mundane existence and emancipation in union with life divine are the two extremes between which the mind achieves its fulfilment.

So long as the non-generated transcendental sound (Nāda) is audible, ether or space (ākāśa) is cognized. Beyond this is the soundless (niḥśabda) transcendent Absolute (Para-Brahma) which is designated as Paramātman (the Supreme Self).[3] The mind exists so long as there is Nāda. At the termination of Nāda, there is the state of being above the mind (manonmanī).[4] This sound

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1. *bindu-śabdena manas-tattvaṁ, nāda-śabdena buddhi-tattvam.*
—Upaniṣad-brahma-yogin's commentary on the *Maṇḍala-Brāhmaṇa-Upaniṣad*, 2.2.1.

2. *mano budhir ahaṁkāras cittam ity antarātmakam.*
catur-dhā lakṣyate bhedo vṛttyā lakṣaṇa-rūpayā.
—*Śrīmad Bhāgavata*, 3.26.14.

3. *tāvad ākāśa-saṁkalpo yāvacchabdaḥ pravartate.*
niḥśabdaṁ tat paraṁ brahma paramātmā samīyate.
—*Nāda-bindu-Upaniṣad*, 47b-48a.

4. *marute madhya-sañcāre manaḥ-sthairyaṁ prajāyate.*
yo manaḥ-susthiro bhāvo sai'vā'vasthā mano'nmanī.
—*Śāṇḍilya-Upaniṣad*, 1.7.10.

When the nervous centres have become purified by means of the regular practice of Prāṇāyāma, the vital air easily forces its way up through the mouth of the Suṣumnā which is in the middle. Then the mind attains tranquility. This state of steadiness of the mind is designated as manonmanī.

is absorbed in the Akṣara (imperishable) and the supreme state (parama pada) is soundless pure transcendence. Constant concentration on Nāda makes the seeker free from desire. The mind and the vital air sink in the unstained one.[1] Many myriads of Nādas and crores of Bindus (transcendental light) become absorbed in the Para Praṇava (Oṁ-kāra), the Absolute, i. e. Brahman as pure transcendence. The yogin (aspirant), then remains like a dead man, freed from all thoughts and the five pre-samādhi states of wake (jāgrat), dream (svapna), dreamless sleep (suṣupti), fainting fit (mūrchā) and death (maraṇa). He is, now, undoubtedly emancipated. The body, in the state of unmanī, becomes motionless like a log of wood; no Nāda like the sounds of conch, large kettle-drums, etc., is audible. Such an aspirant (yogin) is impervious to heat and cold, pleasure and pain, fame and disgrace. He remains absorbed in ecstasy (samādhi) transcending the three states. Being absolutely freed from the waking and the sleeping states, he is perpetually settled in self-satiety.[2] The yogin

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1. *nādo yāvan manas tāvan nādā'ntepi manonmanī.*
saśabdaś cā'kṣare kṣīṇe niḥśabdaṁ paramaṁ padam.
sadā nādā'nusandhānāt saṁkṣīṇā vāsanā tu yā.
nirañjane vilīyete mano-vāyū na saṁśayaḥ.
—*Nāda-bindu-Upaniṣad*, 48b-50a.

2. *nāda-koṭi-sahasrāṇi bindu-koṭi-śatāni ca.*
sarve tatra layaṁ yānti brahma-praṇava-nādake.
sarvā'vasthā-vinirmuktaḥ sarva-cintā-vivarjitaḥ,
mṛta-vat tiṣṭhate yogī sa mukto nā'tra saṁśayaḥ.
śaṅkha-dundubhi-nādaṁ ca na śṛṇoti kadācana.
kāṣṭha-vaj jāyate deha unmanyāvasthayā dhruvam.
na jānāti ca śīto'ṣṇaṁ na duḥkhaṁ na sukhaṁ tathā.
na mānaṁ nā'vamānaṁ ca santyaktvā tu samādhinā.
avasthā-trayam anveti na cittaṁ yoginaḥ sadā.
jāgran-nidrā-vinirmuktaḥ svarūpā'vasthatām iyāt.—*Ibid*, 50b-55.

(aspirant)—whose gaze becomes fixed without there being any target for vision, whose vital air is becalmed without any enterprise on his part, whose mind becomes steady even in the absence of any extraneous support, —becomes of the nature of the transcendental sound of Oṁkāra-Brahman, the Ultimate Reality.[1]

Having attained the culmination of its ideal possibility, the mind now sails on to the ocean of the Infinite-Brahman, Paramātman, Bhagavat and Advaya-jñāna (non-dual consciousness).[2] It is the transcendence of the mind into the super mind. If the summum bonum of human existence can at all be delineated in terms of the mind (super-mind), one might then declare that the end of yoga is the realization of Oṁkāra, the Supreme Reality.

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1. *dṛṣṭiḥ sthirā yasya vinā sadṛśyaṁ*
vāyuḥ sthiro yasya vinā prayatnam.
cittaṁ sthiraṁ yasya vinā'valambaṁ
sa brahma-tārā' ntara-nāda-rūpaḥ...*ibid*; 56.

2. *tacca tyaktvā mad-āroho na kiñcidapi cintayet*...
evaṁ samāhita-matir mām evā'tmānamātmani.
vicaṣṭe mayi sarvā'tman jyotir jyotiṣi saṁyutam...
dhyānene'tthaṁ sutī-ivreṇa yuñjato yogino manaḥ.
saṁyāsyatyāśu nirvāṇaṁ dravya-jñāna-kriyā-bhramaḥ...
—*Śrīmad-Bhāgavata*, XI, 14, 44b-46.

13

A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE VIVEKĀRṆAVA OF ŚRINĀTHA ĀCĀRYA CŪḌĀMAṆI*

By Bani Chakravorty

It is intended here to present before the scholars a critical study of a little-known and unpublished work, entitled the *Vivekārṇava* of Śrīnātha Ācārya Cūḍāmaṇi, a Bengali nibandhakāra of the fifteenth century A. D. '*Viveka*' means Vicaya, i. e., 'collection of search for looking out the true knowledge' and '*arṇava*' means 'the ocean', which indicates the manifold topics (like the ocean) of investigation for searching out the true knowledge for the right procedures and customs of protecting the Hindu Dharma from the unlawful tyrannies of the ruling Muhammedans. The only copy of this manuscript, which is also incomplete, has been deposited in the library of the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta, and no other full or partial copy is available. Śrīnātha declares at the beginning of this nibandha —

Śrutismṛtipathe mitho vivadamānavidvadvacaḥ
pracāragurusaṁśayapracayadāraṇāsañcaye
cirāya taraṇakṣamākulitacetasāṁ prītaye
vivekamayamarṇavaṁ racayatīti Cūḍāmaṇiḥ.

(Ms. No. 1536, F. 1b)

'Śrīnātha composes the ocean-like nibandha which is full of manifold investigations for searching out the true knowledge, to please the minds of men who are able to cross over (the Ocean-like Śāstras) but who are distressed for want of the collected

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materials for solving the most difficult doubts of the words of the wise, who have disputes among themselves about the ways of the Śruti and Smṛti'.

Śrīnātha, the author of the *Vivekārṇava*, was a well-versed scholar in the Smṛti and Mimāṁsā Śāstras, in which he has to his credit a large number of treatises. The *Vivekārṇava*, mainly based on the discussion of the *Pūrva Mīmāṁsā*[1], is one of his sixteen treatises.

Śrīnātha was a product of the learned family which has been referred to in the introductions and colophons of his several nibandhas. He and Govindānanda Kavikaṇṭhācārya were the two immediate Bengali predecessors of Raghunandana. The present writer in her Bengali monograph entitled "Samāja-Saṁskāraka Raghunandana" referred to and identified some four quotations from the *Kriyā-kaumudī* and *Śuddhi-Kaumudī* of Govindānanda, included by Raghunandana in many of his works without mentioning the name of the former. The obvious reasons, suggested by the present writer in her above work, are either the non-availability of all the works of Govindānanda to Raghunandana or the natural reluctance of the latter to give prominence to the former, who was his senior contemporary.

Śrīnatha, the son of Mm. Śrīkarācārya, is to be mentioned in the history of Dharma-Śāstra not only for his well-known pupil Smārta Bhaṭṭācārya Raghunandana, but also for his keen observation and solution of the different problems of Hindu society and religion created by the ruling Muhammedans. If we discuss the political and social conditions of Bengal at the time of Śrīnātha, we come to know that the Hindu dharma of Bengal at that time was much weakened by Buddhism, Jainism, Tāntrism and Islam. The Buddhist Pāla Kings tried to popularise the Buddhistic

1. It is said in the beginning of the *Vivekārṇava*—
Jaiminīyamataṁ prāyo lekhyaṁ bhaṭṭādyupaskṛtaṁ I
yadyapyatra tathāpyete ghaṭanāpaṭavaṁ mama (F. 1b)

religion and many Buddhist works were written under their patronage and the people began to be gradually converted to Buddhism. The Sena kings who flourished after their regime were fortunately Brahmanists and so they encouraged the Brahmanical ideas and practices. But the efforts of the Sena Kings were nullified by the invasions of the Muhammedans, by reason of which Hindu dharma and society were disturbed and the minds of the Hindus diverted from their religious duties. Men were not in a position to follow the right path of the Brahmanical dharma. Under these conditions of society Śrīnātha and his pupil Raghunandana appeared in Bengal. So they had a great responsibility placed upon their shoulders to protect the Brahmanical dharma and society from the alien rulers. Śrīnātha was alive to his great responsibility, not only by composing the various Śāstras to remove the wrong ideas from the diverted minds of the people, but also by making his pupil fit enough to carry on this responsibility. This intention was clearly stated in the introduction and colophons of his different nibandhas.[1]

So Śrīnātha declares in his *Vivekārṇava*—

Śrutyarthasaṃvādini yo budhānāṃ
naiyāyike vartmani pakṣapātaḥ ।
tatrāsatāṃ gaḍḍarikāpravāha–
bhramāpanodāya mama śramoyam ।

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1. (a) *Śrāddhaṃ budhā vipathagaḍḍarikāpravāhe*
dūrādvihāya kurutādaramatra-gāḍham ।
(*Kṛtyatattvārṇava*, ASB Ms. No. G3690, F. 1a)

(b) *suśiṣyasandehanirāsahetoḥ*
Śrīnāthaśarmā kurute Vivekam ।
(*Durgotsavaviveka*, p. 43)

(c) *atosmadvacanaṃ sadbhir-upādeyamiti*
dhvaniḥ śiṣyapravocanārtham । *etc.*
(*Sāramañjarī*, Ms. of Vangīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, No. 1508 F.26)

'The wise have a natural inclination to follow logic in conformity with the meaning of Śruti and this logic is counted in determining the proper duties and conduct of the Hindus and except in relation to the wise, versed in Nyāya, his labour is meant for removing the wrong ideas and customs followed blindly by the ordinary people.

The theme of the present paper is to discuss critically the views of Śrīnātha, the teacher, recorded in the *Vivekārṇava* and those of Raghunandana, the pupil, in his several works and to show how the latter followed in some cases the former's views and refuted them in some other cases.

The *Vivekārṇava* deals with the following topics --

(a) *Veda* as the highest authority concerning dharma,

(b) name of the different sciences (*vidyās*),

(c) character of *Dharmaśāstra*,

(d) the names of Smṛti-kāras as recorded by *Śaṁkha-Likhita*, *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa*, etc.

(e) *ācāra* as a source of dharma, and what is *sadācāra* ?

(f) the authority of *Śruti*, in cases where Śruti and Smṛti differ,

(g) refutation of the *deśa-prasiddha ācāras* if it goes against *Śruti*,

(h) different kinds of *Smṛti* (Viz. *dṛṣṭārtha*, *adṛṣṭārtha* etc.)

(i) on *Paribhāṣā*,

(j) different kinds of bath and their results,

(k duties to be done during and after bath,

(l) on Śrāddha and duties in Śrāddhas,

(m) on eclipses, and so on.

It seems that the *Vivekārṇava* is one of his earliest nibandhas, simply because there is no reference in it to his other nibandhas. But in his *Ācāra-candrikā* Śrīnātha has mentioned the *Vivekārṇava*

three times and in his *Kṛtyatattvārṇava* he has referred to *Vivekārṇava* and *Siddhāntādarśa* etc. Thus in order to remove the doubt and wrong ideas prevalent about the right ways of the Brāhmaṇya dharma, he pleaded the Veda to be the highest authority concerning dharma, different vidyās or Sciences, the definition and character of *Smṛti* and *Sadācāra* etc.

Among the ācāras, Śrīnātha did not agree to the deśaprasiddha ācāras such as the marriage of the maternal uncle's daughter, the duties of one born in pratiloma marriage, the marriage of the widow by her husband's younger brother etc., quoted by others as from Bṛhaspati as an authority.[1] Lest the people considering these customs as authoritative from the precepts of Bṛhaspati, be diverted from following the right customs, recorded in *Śruti* and *Smṛti*, Śrīnātha strictly refuted these ones, because of their contradiction to *Śruti*.[2]

Śrīnātha opined that at the time of performing any rite one has to mention first the tithi, the fortnight and the month separately and then to observe the duties recorded in the *Smṛtis* and we find that he observed the superiority of the *tithis* at the commencement of the rites. Thus he refuted the western view which dispensed with the prominence of the *tithis* for observing any duty and also proved the superiority of the customs of the Gauḍas (i. e. Bengal customs).[3]

Raghunandana also agreed to give prominence to *tithis*

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1. 'atra kaścit deśāntare vedaviruddhastrīvyabhicārādyācāraviśeṣopi pramāṇaṁ Bṛhaspati-vacanāt'. (*Vivekārṇava*, F. 6b)
2. 'ityāha tanmandaṁ, kalpatarukārādibhiralikhitatvenāmīṣāmamūlatvāt'. (*Ibid.*, F.6b.)
3. 'etena maghāśukladvitiyāyāmityādi pāścātya-prayogaścintya eva, kintu māghe māsi śukle pakṣe dvitīyāyāṃ tithāvityādi Gauḍānāṃ prayoga eva sādhīyān iti' (*Ibid.*, 19b.)

in connection with the performance of the different kinds of rites and customs.[1]

The practice of the Maithilas regarding the wearing on the ring-finger of the rings made of gold, silver and kuśa-grass at the time of sacrifice, gift, funeral ceremony of the deceased father etc. would be followed. But the custom of wearing a ring made of silver in the fore-finger, does not hold good as it becomes without any basis. Śrīnātha refuted this practice in both *Vivekārṇava* and *Ācāra-candrikā*.[2] According to him, the rings made of gold and kuśa grass will be worn on the ring-finger of the right hand and those made of silver will be worn on the fore-finger of both the hands.[3] Raghunandana's opinion in this respect tallies with that of his teacher.

According to Śrīnātha, a man who looks at an eclipse, will have to take his bath. But, one, who does not look at the eclipse due to the contradiction of the planets at the time of his birth, has no need of bathing.[4] Raghunandana is also of the same opinion.[5]

1. *ataeva Bhaviṣyapurāṇādau Māghe Māse site pakṣe saptamī koṭibhāskarā ityuktaṃ ato māghaśuklasaptamyāmityādi vākyaracanā maithilānām heyā.* (*Malamāsatattva*, p. 270, *ed.* Śyāmākānta Vidyābhūṣaṇa, *Calcutta.*
2. *rajatakuśatrayadhāraṇamapi tatraiva tatsandarśanāt tarjanyāṃ rajataṃ dhārayamīti pravādo nirmūla eva...kuśairiti lahuvacanantu kapiñjalādhikaraṇanyāyāt trilvaparyavasitamiti Maithilāḥ.* (*Vivekārṇava*, F. 236 *and Ācāra-candrikā*, *Ms. Sanskrit University, Vārāṇasi, No.* 13407, F. 29b)
3. *ata eva kuśadhāraṇācāropi suvarṇa-rajata-sāhacaryādubhayakaranāmikātarjanī-mūlandvayor dṛśyate.* (*Vivekārṇava, F.*, 23*b.*)
4. *tadevaṃ yadīyavirudharāśisthe candre grahaṇaṃ bhavati tasyādarśanāt snānādāvanadhikāraḥ.* (Ibid. F. 41a)
5. *darśanapadāccakṣusajñānaviṣayasyaiva nimittatā vidhīyate tatraiva dṛśer mukhyatvāt* (*Tithitattva*, *p.* 61, *edited by* Śyāmākānta Vidyābhūṣaṇa, *Calcutta.*

But in the opinion of Śrīnātha recorded in the *Vivekārṇava* and the *Kṛtyatattvārṇava*, if there happens the setting of the sun with an eclipse, one has to abstain from food for that day and night and on the next day by looking at the sun, freed from the eclipse, he would take food.[1]

Refuting this view of his teacher, Raghunandana says that one can safely take his food the next day in such cases and that there is no necessity for diseased persons of looking at it before that meal, but such necessity lies with the ordinary persons as they might not have looked at the sun after release from the eclipse on the previous day.[2]

By considering these rites and customs we find that Raghunandana has not only followed his teacher's views in some cases where he has thought it to be necessary for the performance of the various rites, prevalent in the society of Bengal, but has, also refuted them in some cases without mentioning the teacher's name. Śrīnātha was a great scholar and efficient law-giver no doubt, but his name did not become well known in society, the cause being partly the emergence of his great and meritorious student smārta Bhaṭṭācārya Raghunandana, author of several treatises.

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1. *snātvā dṛṣṭvā parehnyadyād grastāstamitayostayorityādivacanaireva vyavasthā.* (*Vivekārṇava* F. 42*a* and *Kṛtyatattvārṇava*, F. 22 *a*)

2. *grastāstamayapakṣe taddine upavāsa eva muktiṁ dṛṣṭvā tu bhuñjīta snānaṁ kṛtvā pare'hani ityādeḥ...tadapi na sundaraṁ pare'hani dṛṣṭvaiva snātvā bhuñjīta rogādinā taddine tadakaraṇe tatparadine bhojane tu na darśanādyapekṣetyetāvatāiva pare'hani ityādeḥ sārthakatvāt.* (*Tithitattva*, P. 64.)

Abbreviations

ई० उ० भा० = ईशोपनिषद्भाष्यम्

उ० सा० = उपदेशसाहस्री

ऐ० उ० भा० = ऐतरेयोपनिषद्भाष्यम्

क० उ० भा० = कठोपनिषद्भाष्यम्

छां० उ० भा० = छान्दोग्योपनिषद्भाष्यम्

जय० = जयमंगला

तै० उ० भा० = तैत्तिरीयोपनिषद्भाष्यम्

प्र० उ० भा० = प्रश्नोपनिषद्भाष्यम्

बृ० उ० भा० = बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्भाष्यम्

ब्र० सू० भा० = ब्रह्मसूत्रभाष्यम्

भ० गी० भा० = भगवद्गीताभाष्यम्

म० भा० = महाभारतम्

मां० उ० भा० = माण्डूक्योपनिषद्भाष्यम्

मुं० उ० भा० = मुण्डकोपनिषद्भाष्यम्

वि० स० ना० भा० = विष्णुसहस्रनामभाष्यम्

श्वे० उ० भा० = श्वेताश्वतरोपनिषद्भाष्यम्

स० सु० भा० = सनत्सुजातीयभाष्यम्

EY. = *Etymologies of Yāska*, Hoshiyarpur, 1953

Nir. = *Nirukta* of Yāska.

ŚAṄKARĀCRĀYA : AN ETYMOLOGIST IN THE REALM OF INDIAN MONISM

*Shiv Kumar Chaturvedi**

In the Indian etymological understanding of concepts we have two kinds; the first to fix the significace of the concept and support it through etymology and the second to give the etymological meaning of a word first, and then to fix the significance of concept accordingly. As regards Śaṅkara's etymologies, they fall under the first kind. Generally Ācārya concerns himself with the derivations of words more from the stand-point of philosophy than that of grammar or philology. In other words, he makes etymology follow the conventional meanings but at several places, he has to adopt the etymological method compulsorily to render his interpretation sensible. It must be admitted, however, that he sometimes seems to anticipate the derivation according to the modern linguistic principles.

Śaṅkara, like his ancestors, tries to understand the sense of names and words because they also believed that sense expresses the essence and character of concepts denoted by the term. There is ample evidence in his commentaries to prove this point. For him, the word not only represents the thing or person or animal rather it is verily the same thing, person or animal. Many notions are used as evident as anything to him. It is clear from a large number of his etymologies that he never hesitates to attach great value to any explanation which is preferred to by a long succession of authors.

He may be placed among those post-Pāṇinian authorities, in whose hands etymology seems to have attained maturity and

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a status of science. The etymologist in Śaṅkara appears to have laid equal stress on, and attached equal importance to both the elements (namely sound and sense) of language. His value as an etymologist lies in the fact that he is one of the devoted philosopher etymologists of India, who derived considerable benefit from the Science of Etymology, while dealing with their philosophies.

(1)

An etymologist would not be an etymologist if he does not propose false or fictitious etymologies. When we study Śaṅkara in this light, we find that his etymologies, too, are not free from fallacies. Sometimes he gives a number of possible alternate etymologies of a word and sometimes he offers two small etymologies of a word. For instance, in the etymology of '*hṛdaya*'[1] he only says that 'it is the soul which resides in the heart'. In view of the modern linguist, such an etymology does not deserve its name. But it is Śaṅkara who, on the evidence of the Upaniṣads and the like, considers it an etymology, but he gives no remarks of his own on it, while it is expected of a scholar like Śaṅkara. But Śaṅkara was helpless. He was under the sway of tradition, which was nurtured by the great seers of the great nation. Therefore, his etymologies, which are presumably based upon tradition, may not be set aside lightly.

(2)

It is evident from a statement of the *Kaṭhopaniṣadbhāṣya* that Śaṅkara is quite aware of the historico-geographical outlook of his age. There he admits that sometimes, the conventional meaning of a word is current in a certain dialect, while the etymological meaning or meanings of the same word in another dialect and sometimes both meanings are current in the same dialect.

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1. हृद्ययमात्मा वर्तत इति यस्मात्तस्मात् हृदयं हृदयनामनिर्वचन—
प्रसिद्ध्यापि स्वहृदय आत्मेत्यवमन्तव्यमित्यभिप्रायः । छां० उ० भा० 8. 3. 3 ।

For instance, the word *Ātman*[1] has two meanings viz, the conventional meaning and the etymological one. There Śaṅkara asserts that both the meanings of the word are current in the western dialect. Here it is remarkable that his predecessors like Yāska, Pāṇini and Patañjali have referred to some provincial usages and practices of their ages. So it was natural for a commentator like Śaṅkara to have the knowledge of some dialects of his age also.

(3)

Śaṅkara seems to have taken due interest in the etymology. But one thing is to be noted that he does not place all the etymologies of one word at the same place connecting them with 'or...or'. Compare how Śaṅkara offers as many as seven etymologies for *Puruṣa*[2],

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1. प्रतीच्येवात्मशब्दो रूढो लोके नान्यत्र । व्युत्पत्तिपक्षेऽपि तत्रैवात्मशब्दो वर्तते । कठ० उ० भा० 4. 1 ।
2. पुरिशयनात्……। वि० स० ना० भा० 15; 54; ई० उ० भा० 16; ऐ० उ० भा० 1. 3. 13; प्र० उ० भा० 6. 6; छां० उ० भा० 1. 6. 6; 3. 12. 6; तै० उ० भा० 1. 6. 1; मां० उ० भा० 2. 12; बृ० उ० भा० 2. 1. 16; 2. 5. 18; श्वे० उ० भा० 3. 13; भ० गी० भा० 8. 4. 22; 11. 38; 13. 14 ।
   यद्वा अस्तेः व्यस्ताक्षरयोगात् आसीत् पुरा पूर्वमेव इति विग्रहं कृत्वा व्युत्पादितः पुरुषः 'पूर्वमेवाहमिहासमिति तत्पुरुषस्य पुरुषत्वम्' इति श्रुतेः ।
   पुरुषु भूरिषु उत्कर्षशालिषु सत्वेषु सीदति वा ।
   भुवनानि संहारसमयेऽस्यतीति अन्तं करोतीति वा । वि० स० ना० भा० 15 ।
   ……यस्मादेवं तस्मात्पुरुषः पूर्वमौषदिति पुरुषः । बृ० उ० भा० 1.4.1 ।
   पूर्णत्वात् पूरणात् वा । वि० स० ना० भा० 15; ई० उ० भा० 16; क० उ० भा० 2. 1. 12; प्र० उ० भा० 4. 9; 6. 6; छां० उ० भा० 1. 6. 6; 3. 12. 6; तै० उ० भा० 1. 6. 1; मुं० उ० भा० 2. 12; श्वे० उ० भा० 3. 13; भ० गी० भा० 8. 4. 22; स० सु० भा० 4. 13 ।
   पुरं शरीरं तस्मिन् वसतीति पुरुषः । नैरुक्तोऽत्र विधिः ।
   जय० 3 ।

five derivations for *Keśava*[1] and four for *Abhivimāna*[2]. Yāska is alleged to have had a passion for etymologies. But the same thing cannot be said about Śaṅkara, for he always follows the context, that is, in deriving the meaning of words, never forgets what the context requires or allows.

(4)

As an etymologist, he considers that roots having common meaning, may be used in a special sense in a certain case. For example, in the etymology af *Śiṣṭakṛt*[3], the root √*kṛ* gives the sense of another root √*pāl*,' to protect, just as '*kuru*' in '*kuru kāṣṭhāni*' means 'fetch' or 'make fuel'.

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1. अभिरूप: केश: यस्य स: केशव:, 'केशाद्वान्यतरस्याम्' इति वा प्रत्यय: प्रशंसायाम् यद्वा कश्च अश्च ईशश्च त्रिमूर्तय: केश: यद्वशेन वर्त्तन्ते स केशव: ।
यस्मात्त्वयैष दुष्टात्मा हत: केशी जनार्दन ।
तस्मात्केशवनामा त्वं लोके गोपो भविष्यति ॥
केशसंज्ञिता सूर्यादिसंक्रान्ता अंशव: तदवत्तया केशव: ।
'अंशवो ये प्रकाशन्ते मम ते केशसंज्ञिता: ।
सर्वज्ञा: केशवं तस्मान्मामाहुर्द्विजसत्तमा: ॥ इति महाभारते ।
ब्रह्माविष्णुशिवाख्या: शक्तय: केशसंज्ञिता: तदवत्तया वा केशव: 'त्रय: केशिन:' इति श्रुते: । 'मत्केशो वसुधातले' इति केशशब्द: शक्तिपर्यायत्वेन प्रयुक्त: ।
को ब्रह्मेति समाख्यात: ईशोऽहं सर्वदेहिनाम् ।
आवां तवांशसम्भूतौ तस्मात्केशवनामवान् ॥ इति हरिवंशे ।
वि० स० ना० भा०, 16 ।
2. प्रत्यायगात्मया सर्वै: प्राणिभि: अभिविमीयत इति अभिविमान: ।
अभिगतो वायं प्रत्यगात्मत्वात् विमानश्च मानवियोगात् इति अभिविमान: ।
अभिविभीयते वा सर्वं जगत् कारणकत्वात् इति अभिविमान: ।
ब्र० सू० भा० १.२.२३ ।
प्रत्यगात्मतया अभिविमीयतेऽहमिति ज्ञायत इत्यभिविमान: छां० उ० भा० ।
3. शिष्टं शासनं तत्करोतीति शिष्टकृत् । शिष्टान् करोति पालयतीति वा । सामान्यवचने धातु: विशेषवचो दृष्ट:, 'कुरु काष्ठानि' इति आहरणे यथा तद्वद् शिष्टकृत् । वि० स० ना० भा०, ४० ।

(5)

Śaṅkara like Pāṇini considers that the suffixes not only change the part of speech but also add a semantic restriction to the underlying stem. Here he does not appear to have followed the Uṇādisūtrakāras, who based their derivations on the basis of sound element (of the word concerned) rather than the sense or senses conveyed by them. He has taken into account both these elements. Whenever he lays down a pratyaya (suffix), he does not forget to mention at the same time, the sense conveyed. thus *Sākṣī*[1], *Hṛṣīkeśa*[2], *Upaniṣad*[3], *Anila*[4], *Antaka*[5], *Kṣetrajña*[6],

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1. साक्षादव्यवधानेन पश्यति सर्वमिति 'साक्षी' 'साक्षाद्द्रष्टरि संज्ञायाम्' इति पाणिनिवचनात् इनि प्रत्ययः। वि० स० ना० भा०, 15।
2. साक्षित्वात् हृषीकाणि इन्द्रियाणि तेषामीशः क्षेत्रज्ञरूपभाक्।
   यद्वा इन्द्रियाणि यस्य वशे वर्तन्ते स परमात्मा।
   यस्य वा सूर्यरूपस्य प्रीतिकराः हृष्टाः केशाः रश्मयः स हृषीकेशः।
   पृषोदरादित्वम्। वि० स० ना० भा०, 19।
3. सदेः धातोर्विशरणगत्यवसादनार्थस्योपनिपूर्वस्य क्विप्प्रत्ययान्तस्य रूपमिदमुपनिषदिति।
   क० उ० भा० (उपोद्घातः)
   तै० उ० भा० ,,
   मा० उ० भा० ,,
   बृ० उ० भा० ,,
   श्वे० उ० भा० ,,
   उ० सा०, उपोद्घातप्रकरणम्, कारिके 25, 26।
4. अननादनिलः।
   इलति स्वपिति इति अज्ञः इलः तद्विपरीतो नित्यप्रबुद्धस्वरूपत्वात् इति वाऽनिलः। वि० स० ना० भा०, 100।
   अथवा निलः गहनार्थात् 'क' प्रत्ययान्तरूपम्। अगहनोऽनिल इति वा। वि० स० ना० भा०, 38।
5. अन्तं करोति भूतानाम् इति अन्तकः। 'तत्करोति तदाचष्टे' इति णिचिप्रत्यये कृते 'ण्वुल्तृचौ' इति ण्वुल् तस्य 'युवोरनाकौ' इति एकादेशः। वि०स०ना०भा०, 68।
6. क्षेत्रं शरीरं जानाति क्षेत्रज्ञः। 'आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः' इति कप्रत्ययः। वि० स० ना० भा०, 15।

Jananās[1], *Pavitra*[2], *Bhūman*[3], *Rakṣaṇa*[4], *Varaṇaka*[5], *Vāk*[6], *Viṣṇu*[7], *Vaiśvānara*, etc. are the words which have been derived with their suffixes.

(6)

As an etymologist, he admits the validity of two or more etymologies at the same time, one of which is not seldom correct, the other or others being fantastic or they may denote the different stages of semantic changes of the word in question. It is notable here especially that this practice was already in vogue in the Vedic literature. This will be clear from the following examples :

1. *Kundara* : 'N. of *Viṣṇu*' has been derived from *kunda*+ √*ra* *kunda*+√*lā*, *kum*+√*dṛ*.[8]

2. *kunda* : is traced to *kum*+√*dā* 'to give', *kum*+√*dā*, 'to tear.'[9]

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1. जनयन्ति इति जनना: । 'कृत्यल्युटो बहुलम्' इति कर्तरि ल्युट् । जय०, 12 ।
2. येन युनाति यो वा पुनाति ऋषिर्देवता वा तत्पवित्रम् । पुव: संज्ञाया चर्षिदेवतयो:' इति भगवत्पाणिनिस्मरणात्, इत्र प्रत्यय: । वि० स० ना० भा०, 20 ।
3. भूमेति तावद्बहुत्वमभिधीयते । 'बहोर्लोपो, भूचबहो:' इति भूमशब्दस्य भावप्रत्ययान्ततास्मरणात् । ब्र० सू० भा० 1-3-8; छां० उ० भा० 7.1.23 ।
4. सत्वगुणमधिष्ठाय जगत्त्रयं रक्षयन् रक्षण: ।
   'नद्यादित्वात्कर्तरि ल्युट्' । वि० स० ना० भा०, 112 ।
5. वृणोति पिधत्त इति । 'कृत्यल्युटो बहुलम् इति कर्तरि ल्युट् करणे वा । पश्चात्स्वार्थे कन् । जय०, 13 ।
6. उच्यतेऽनयेति वाक् वागेव वाक: । यद्वा वचे: घञन्तस्य करणे वाक् ।
   छां० उ० भा० 3.14.2 ।
7. वेवेष्टि व्याप्नोतीति विष्णु: विषे: व्याप्त्याभिधायिनो क्नुप्रत्ययान्तस्य रूपं विष्णुरिति देशकालवस्तुपरिच्छेदशब्दशून्य इत्यर्थ: । वि० स० ना० भा०, 14 ।
8. कुन्दपुष्पतुल्यानि शुद्धानि धर्मानुबन्धीनि फलानि राति ददाति वा कुन्दर: । कुन्दपुष्पतुल्यानि शुद्धानि फलानि लाति आदत्त इति वा कुन्दर: रलयोर्वृत्तिरेकत्वस्मरणात् ।
   कुं धरणी दारयामास हिरण्याक्षजिघांसया । वि० स० ना० भा०, 100 ।
9. कुं पृथ्वीं कश्यपाय अदात इति वा कुन्द: ।
   कुं पृथ्वीं खण्डयति इति वा कुन्द: । वि० सं० ना० भा०, 100 ।

3. *Saṁvargaḥ* : comes from *saṁ*+√*vṛj*, or *saṁ*+√*grah*, *sam*+√*gras*.[1]

(7)

Sometimes we find in Śaṅkara, the derivations of two roots merged into one, especially because there is an opportunity for him to enjoy pun and have fruitful occasions for some allegorical expressions :

1. *Jahnu* : is traced to √*hnu*, 'to separate', √*hā*, 'to keep away'.[2]

2. *Abhiprāya* : has been derived *abhi*+√*pri*, from √*abhi*+*pra*+√*i*; 'to go'.[3]

3. *Aja* : 'The mover, the birthless comes from √*aj*, 'to go', *a*+√*jan*, 'to create'.[4]

4. *Nyagrodha* : 'N. of *Viṣṇu*' is rooted in *nyak*+√*ruh* and *nyak*+√*rudh*.[5]

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1. संवर्जनात् संग्रहणात् संग्रसनात् संवर्गः । छां० उ० भा०, 4.3.1 ।
2. जनान् संहारसमये अपह्नुते अपनयति इति जह्नुः ।
   जहाति अविदुषो भक्तान्नययि परं पदमिति वा । वि० स०, ना० भा०, 39 ।
3. अभिप्रेयते पुरुषार्थकांक्षिभिः । आभिमुख्येन प्रलयेऽस्मिन्प्रैति जगत् इति वाऽभिप्रायः । वि० स० ना० भा०, 106 ।
4. न जायत इति अजः 'न जातो न जनिष्यते' इति श्रुतेः ।
   'नहि जातो न जायेऽहं न जनिष्ये कदाचन् ।
   क्षेत्रज्ञः सर्वभूतानां तस्मादहमजः स्मृतः ।। वि० स० ना० भा०, 24 ।
   न जायते कुतश्चिदन्यस्य जन्मनिमित्तस्य चाभावात् । मुण्ड० उ० भा०, 2.12 ।
   अजति गच्छति क्षिपति इति वा अजः । वि० स० ना० भा०, 35 ।
   आद् विष्णोरजायत इति कामोऽजः । वि० स० ना० भा०, 69 ।
5. न्यक् अवाक् रोहति सर्वेषामुपरि वर्तत इति न्यग्रोधः । पृषोदरादित्वात् दकारस्य धकारादेशः । सर्वभूतं न्यक्कृत्य निजमायां वृणोति निरूणद्धि इति वा न्यग्रोधः
   वि० स० ना० भा०, 10 ।

(8)

He appears to have followed grammarian Pāṇini who states a form by nipātana without giving the process of its derivation. He derives words like *Purandara*[1] and *Sūrya*[2] etc. in this way.

(9)

He maintains that principles of word-derivation may be applied to word-compounding. It is concerned with the addition of two (or rarely more) word-stems. The following examples clarify this technique adequately :—

1. *Nārāyaṇa* : 'The goal of beings' is a dependent compound of *nār* and *ayaṇa*[3]

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1. सुरशत्रूणां पुराणां दारणात्स पुरन्दरः । 'वाचंयमपुरन्दरो' इति भगवता पाणिनिना निपातनात् । वि० स० भा० 49
2. सूते श्रियमिति सूर्योऽग्निर्वा । वि० स० भा० 107
रश्मीनां प्राणानां रसानां च स्वीकरणात् सूर्यः । ईश० उ० भा० 16
रसानां रश्मीनां प्राणानां च जगतः ईरणात् सूर्यः ।
छां० उ० भा० 3-17-7; बृ० उ० भा० 5-15-1
3. नर आत्मा ततो जातानि आकाशादीनि नाराणि कार्याणि; तानि कारणात्मना
व्याप्नोति इत्यतश्च तानि अयनमस्य इति नारायणः ।
नाराणां जीवानामयनत्वात् प्रलय इति वा नारायणः ।
नाराणामयनं यस्मात्तस्मान्नारायणः स्मृतः ॥
इति ब्रह्मवैवर्तात् ।
आपो नारा इति प्रोक्ता आपो वे नरसूनवः ।
अयनं तस्य ताः पूर्वं तेन नारायणः स्मृतः ॥
इति मनुवचनात् नारायणः ।
आपो नारा इति प्रोक्तास्तासां नाम कृतं मया ।
तेन नारायणोऽप्युक्तो मम तत्त्वयनं सदा ॥
(म० भा०, वन पर्व × 11.3)
वि० स० भा०–39

2. *Mātariśvan* : 'The *Air*' is an *aluk*-compound of *mātari* and *śvan*.[1]

3. *Kuvaleśaya* - 'The recliner on the water' is also *aluk*-compound of *kuvala* and *śaya*[2].

4. *Soma*[3] and *sama*[4] are adverbial compounds.

(10)

He is not against the assertion that names can be explained in any manner possible. So there is no question of several etymologies being justifiable or not.

(11)

Sometimes he derives a word in accordance with the principles of etymology by common quality (*Bhakti* or *guṇakalpanā*) through whtch the identification between two things becomes intelligible and this may be more inherent or imaginary than apparent or real. For instance, the word *Vaiśvānara*[5] is identified with the 'Highest self' which is supposed etymologically, to lead all creatures of the universe in diverse ways in accordance with their

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1. मातर्यन्तरिक्षे श्वयवि गच्छति मातरिश्वा वायुः, सर्वप्राणभृत् क्रियात्मको यदाश्रयाणि कार्यकरणजातानि यस्मिन् ओतानि प्रोतानि च यत्सूत्रसंज्ञकं सर्वस्य जगतो विधारयितृ स मातरिश्वा । ईश० उ० भा० 4
मातर्यन्तरिक्षे श्वयतीति मातरिश्वा । केन० उ० भा० 3-6
2. कोः पृथिव्याः वलनात्संवरणात्कुवलं जलं तस्मिन् शेत इति कुवलेशयः ।
'शयवासवासिष्वकालात्' इति अलुक् सप्तम्याः ।
कुवलस्य बदरीफलस्य मध्ये शेते, तक्षकोऽपि तस्य विभूतिः इति वा हरिः कुवलेशयः ।
कौ भूम्यां संशेरत इति सर्पाणामुदरं कुवलं तस्मिन् शेषोदरे शेत इति कुवलेशयः । वि० स० भा० 76
3. उमया सह वर्तत इति शिवो वा सोमः । वि० स० भा० 67
4. मया लक्ष्म्या सह वर्तत इति वा समः । वि० स० भा० 25
5. विश्वश्चासौ नरश्चेति वैश्वानरः । ब्र० सू० भा० 1-2-28

merits and demerits. So is the word '*Agni*'[1] which is also identified with the '*S*upreme-being' for, it being the self of all, leads in front.

(12)

He is quite aware of the obscurity arising out of the disturbed structure of the words :*Āyāsya*[2], *Saṃyadvāma*[3].

(13)

He derives declinable from a declinable For example, '*Nāka*'[4] (Heaven) consists of *Na+A+Ka*. Of these ka is declinable and means 'happiness.'

(14)

As an etymologist, he sometimes indulges in literary juggling. This tendency is reflected in different etymologies of a single word when its meaning becomes different. In this connection Dr. Varma[5] has rightly observed that this is the germ of double meaning (*Śleṣa*) of later classical Sanskrit literature. The following examples Illustrate this tendency :—

1. *Gadāgraja* : (1) As an epithet of '*Viṣṇu*' it is traced to *nigada*+*agra*+√*jan* lit. 'He who appears in the beginning from

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1. अग्निशब्दोऽप्यग्रणीत्वादियोगाश्रयेण परमात्मविषय एव भविष्यति । गार्हपत्यादिकल्पनं प्राणाहुत्यधिकरणत्वं च परमात्मनोऽपि सर्वात्मत्वादुपपद्यते । ब्र० स० भा० 1-2-28
2. यद्यस्मादास्यादयते निर्गच्छति तेनायास्य ऋषिः प्राण एव सन्नित्यर्थः । छां० उ० भा० 1-2-12
3. यस्मादेव सर्वाणि वामानि संभजनीयानि शोभनानि अभिसंयति अभिगच्छन्तीत्यतः संयद्वामः । छां० उ० भा० 4-15-2
4. कमिति सुखनाम तस्य प्रतिषेधोऽकं तन्न भवतीति नाकं, कमेवेत्यर्थः अमृत्युविषयत्वात् । छां० उ० भा० 2-10-5
5. Vide, EY., P. 8

the mantras.' (2) As 'the elder brother af *gada*' it is traced to *Gada*+*agra*+√*jan*.[1]

(2) *Hṛṣīkeśa* : (1) As the lord of the senses, it is traced to *hṛṣīka* and *Īśa*; (2) As 'the sun' is traced to *hṛṣī* (from √*hṛṣ*, 'to delight') and *keśa*, lit. 'He who is possessed of delightful rays'.[2]

(3) *Sūrya*: 'The sun' is derived from √su, svī+√*Kṛ*, *su*+√*ir*[3].

(4) *Guḍākeśa* : (1) As 'the conquerer of sleep' it has been derived from *guḍākā* and *īśa*, being Tatpuruṣa compound; (As 'the thick-haired' it is further traced to *guḍā* and *keśa*[4].

(5) *Anila*: 'N of Viṣṇu' has been traced to √*an* 'to go', *an*+*il*, *a*+*nil*[5].

(15)

Śaṅkara was not dogmatic as an etymologist. He was indebted to his predecessors for the wealth of possible alternative etymologies. The large number of *Purāṇa*-quotations in his works, especially in the *Viṣṇusanasranāmabhāṣya*, indicates that in his time *Purāṇas* were popular treatises and an independent wing of

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1. निगदेन मन्त्रेण अग्रे जायत इति नि:शब्दलोपं कृत्वा गदाग्रज: ।
   यद्वा गदो नाम श्रीवासुदेवावरज: तस्मात् अग्रे जायत इति गदाग्रज: । वि०स०भा०94
2. साक्षित्वात् हृषीकाणि इन्द्रियाणि तेषामीश: क्षेत्रज्ञरूपभाक् ।
   यद्वा इन्द्रियाणि यस्य वशे वर्तन्ते स परमात्मा ।
   यस्य वा सूर्यरूपस्य प्रीतिकरा: हृष्टाः केशा: रश्मय: स हृषीकेश: ।
   पृषोदरादित्वम् । वि० स० भा ० 19
3. सूते श्रियमिति सूर्योऽग्निर्वा । वि० स० भा० 107
   रश्मीनां प्राणानां रसानां च स्वीकरणात् सूर्य: । ईश० उ० भा० 16
   रसानां रश्मीनां प्राणानां च जगत: ईरणात् सूर्य;
   छां० उ० भा० 3-17-7; बृ० उ० भा० 5-15-1
4. गुडाका निद्रा तस्या ईशो गुडाकेशो जितनिद्र: । भ० गी० भा० 10-20
5. अननाद् अनिल: । वि० स० भा० 38

Indian literature. Moreover, in derivation of words he tried to follow grammarians who were of opinion that etymology (formation of word) is the second part of grammar[1]. In his view, grammar was, therefore, equally important for understanding Philosophy which is chiefly dealt in his commentaries and other independent works His etymologies of names are amply influenced by the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of pāṇini, the noted ancient grammarian.

(16)

for a number of etymologies, Śaṅkara relies on legends which appear to have been framed to explain the abstract ideas in a concrete form. This conclusion receives further support from Yāska's remark[2] "seers who have deep insight into a subject, explain it through the medium of legends". These were originally devised to explain Vedic stanzas. The etymologists did not accept legends because they did not actually exist in the hymns. But later on, they also incorporated them into their works to show that there was no fundamental difference between the two approaches. Since the legends were also explained with reference to the etymology of Vedic words. It was, however, a step, which made etymology a servant of the legendary school and it was ultimately employed merely to support the existence of legends in hymns. Gradually etymology, as Dr. S. K. Gupta3 states, must have been regarded unnecessary since the pivot words in the legends had acquired a fixed legendary sense and most of them became proper names. The following etymologies of Śaṅkara are based on legends :—

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1. निरुक्तं तु व्याकरणस्यैव परिशिष्टप्रायं बाहुलकादिसाध्यानां लोपागमविकारादीनां प्रायशस्तत्र संग्रहात् ।
   Bhattaoji Dikṣita, *Śabdakaustubha*, Ch. I, Pāda I, Āhnika I, Under *Vyākaraṇādhyayanasya Prayojananirūpaṇa*' p. 11
2. ऋषे दृष्टार्थस्य········। *Nir.* 10-46
3. *Journal of Bihar Recearch Society*, Vol. 45, Parts 1-4, P 1 35f.

1. *Keśava* : 'The slayer of Keśin' is traced to *Keśin+Vā* (Vadha).[1]

2. *Aditi* : 'Devourer of all beings' is traced to √*ad*, 'to consume'. This name is connected with a legend according to which prajapati or Death, once being aware of the increase of food, resolved to devour all that he had created. Hence his name became Aditi.[2]

(3) *Vaikhāna* : 'No, of *Viṣṇu*' has been derived from √*Khan* 'to dig'. Here is a legend which says that once *Viṣṇu* in the form of a boar dug up the earth and killed Hiraṇyākṣa, who lived in the netherland.[3].

(4) *Dāmodara* : 'N of the lord *Viṣṇu*' is connected with a legend according to which yaśodā, the mother of kṛṣṇa tied him up by means of a cord round his waste to the two trees.[4]

(5) *Pati-patnī* : —'Husband and wife,' both are traced to √pat, 'to fall'. This etymology follows a legend which says that in the beginning this world was soul (ātman) alone in the form of a person looking around, he saw nothing else than himself. He desired a second. He caused that self to fall into two pieces. Therefrom arose a husband (pati) a wife (patni). He copulated with her. Therefrom human-being were produced.[5]

(17)

As an etymologist, śaṅkara has in his mind the expression '*Parokṣapriyā......, ityācakṣate parokṣeṇa*'—etc. which may be

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1. Vide. Fn. 4,
2. सर्वं कृत्स्नं त्रै यस्मादत्तीति तस्माददितेरदितिनाम्नो मृत्योरदितित्वं प्रसिद्धम् । बृ० उ० भा० 1-2-5
3. विशेषेण खननात् वैखान: धरणीं विशेषेण खनित्वा पातालवासिन हिरण्याक्ष वाराहं रूपमास्थाय जघानेति पुराणे प्रसिद्धम् । वि० स० भा० 119
4. दमादिसाधनेन उदर: उत्कृष्टा मतिर्या तया गम्यते इति दामोदर: । 'दमाददामोदरं विदु:' इति महाभारते । यशोदया दाम्ना उदरे बद्ध इति वा । वि० स० भा० 53
5. ततस्तमात्पातनात्पतिश्च पत्नी चामवतामिति दम्पत्यो: निर्वचनं लौकिकयो: बृ० उ० भा० 1-4-3

regarded as only a lame excuse of the etymologists either to hid their ignorance of the proper derivation or to squeeze out of rebellious word, a meaning suited to the context with reference to which it is desired to be interpreted. Our primitive etymologists had firm belief that the fear of the potencies resides in the words and names. Names denoting beings or concepts which were not to be referred to in a casual way, which inspire fear, awe, respect, are pronounced only with reluctance or are even supressed. Words for objects or ideas which are under a ban, are likely to be modified or replaced. Prof. Gonda[1] has rightly pointed out in this connection that these facts were perfectly clear to the authors of the Brāhmaṇas who may, in a sense, be considered the discoverer of phenomenon of linguistic taboo. How often do they remind us of the gods' love for the 'Cryptic,' that is : for the conventional substitute of the true or original form of a word which expressed its full meaning. *Indra* is mystically said to be a substitute for *Idamdra-*, 'The seer of this Universe' and *Indha-*, 'The kindler.' Because the knowers of Brahman or the gods are fond of cryptic and dislike the evident[2]. *Atti-*, 'Speech or the Mouth' is mystically called '*atri*' by which the food is consumed.[3]

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1. vide, "The etymologies in the ancient Indian Brahmaṇas" *Lingua* 5, 1955-56, P. 79

2. यस्मादिदमित्येव यत्साक्षादपरोक्षाद् ब्रह्म सर्वान्तरमपश्यत् न परोक्षेण तस्मादिदं पश्यतीतीन्द्रो नाम परमात्मा । इदन्द्रो ह वै नाम प्रसिद्धो लोक ईश्वरः । तमेवमिदन्द्रं सन्तमिन्द्र इति परोक्षेण परोक्षाभिधानेनाचक्षते ब्रह्मविदः संव्यवहारार्थं पूज्यतमत्वात् प्रत्यक्षनामग्रहणभयात् । एं० उ० भा० 8-14
यश्चक्षुर्वै ब्रह्मेति पुरोक्तः आदित्यान्तर्गतः पुरुषः स एष योऽयं दक्षिणेऽक्षन्नाक्षिणि विशेषेण व्यवस्थितः । स च सत्यनामा । तं वै एतं पुरुषं दीप्तिगुणत्वात् प्रत्यक्षं नाम अस्येन्ध्य इति । तमिन्धं सन्तमिन्द्र इत्याचक्षते परोक्षेण । यस्मात् परोक्षप्रिया इव हि देवाः प्रत्यक्षद्विषः प्रत्यक्षनामग्रहणं द्विषन्ति । बृ० उ० भा० 4-2-2

3. वागेव अत्रिः अदनक्रियायोगात् । वाचा हि अन्नम् अद्यते तस्मात् अति ह वै प्रसिद्धं नाम एतत् अतृत्वात् अत्तिरिति । अत्तिरेव सन् यद् अत्रिः इत्युच्यते परोक्षेण । बृ० उ० भा० 2-2-4

(18)

When Śaṅkara sees that the derivation of a word is acceptable but the meaning does not suit all the contexts, he takes the word somewhat differently from what the derivation allows. Thus an ordinary word, meaning some secular object, denotes some philosophical truth. For example, *Sāma*[1] is composed of '*Sa*' and '*ama*' which have been explained as speech and breath. *Satya*[2] consists of three syllables, the first syllable is '*sa*', the second '*ti*', the third '*yam*'; The first and the last syllables are the truth (*Satyam*), in the middle is *t* untruth (*anṛtam*). This untruth is enclosed on both sides by the truth. Elsewhere he gives a different explanation of the three syllables. '*Sa*' is said immortal, *ti* mortal and *yam* both. *OM*[3] consists of *a*, *U* and *M*. *Viśva* (*vaiśvānara*) is represented by *a* on the similarity of pervasiveness (*āpti*), *Taijas* is represented by *U* on the similarity of exaltation (utkarṣa) and prājña is represented by *m* on the similarity of knowability (*miti*). *Udgītha*[4] is composed of *ut*, *gī* and *tha*. *Ut* repressnts *prāṇa*, *dyau*, *āditya* and *sāman*; *gī* represents *vāk*, *antarikṣa*, *vāyu* and *yajusī*; and *tha* represents *anna*, *prithvi* and *ṛk*. *kṛṣṇa*[5] consists of *kṛṣ* and *ṇa* which have been explained as existence and bliss. Thus *kṛṣṇa* is called to be the union of the both. *Mādhava*[6] is composed of *mā*, *dha* and *va* which have been explained as silence, meditation and yoga. Thus *Mādhava*,

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1. वाग्वै सा यत् किंचित् स्त्रीशब्दाभिधेयं सा वाक्। सर्वस्त्रीशब्दाभिधेयवस्तुविषयो हि सर्वनाम साशब्दः। तथा अम एषः प्राणः। सर्वपुंशब्दाभिधेयवस्तुविषयोऽमशब्दः।···वाक्प्राणाभिधानभूतोऽयं सामशब्दः। बृ० उ० भा० 1-3-22-
2. बृ० उ० भा० 2-3-1; वि० स० भा० 25; छां० उ० भा० 8-3-5; बृ० उ० भा० 5-5-1
3. मां० उ० भा० 1.8, 9, 10, 11
4. छां० उ० भा० 1-3-1, 6, 7; बृ० उ० भा० 1-3-23
5. वि० स० भा० 20
6. वि० स० भा० 21; 31; 91

an epithet of viṣṇu, is one who is knowable by means of these. *Keśava*[1] is devided into four component parts-namely, *Ka+a+īśa+va*. '*Ka*' is Brahmā, '*A*' is Viṣṇu, *Īśā* is Śaṇkara and '*va*' means to control. Thus Keśava is one who controls these three manifestations.

As the monosyllable is unsuited to express more than a limited range of substantive ideas, Śañkara assigns some senses to monosyllabic words which are incapable of representing those senses independently. The following examples may be noted :

(1) *Ram* : 'The vital breath' is traced to √*ram*, 'to rejoice,' lit. 'That in which all being delight'[2]

(2) *Vi* : 'The food' is traced to √*viś*, 'to enter'[3]

(19)

As an etymologist he has relied almost entirely on the grammarian's roots. Thus derivations of *Govinda*[4] are connected with two roots viz, √*vid*, 'to know' and √*vid*, 'to confer', and the etymologies of veda[5] are related to three roots namely, √*vid*, 'to know' √*vid*, 'to exist', √*vid*, 'to think.'

(20)

Śaṅkara has derived some words which come under the scope of the phenomenon of linguistic contamination which was already in vogue in the Brāhmaṇas and the upaniṣads, Āraṇyakas and purāṇas. Indian etymologists were more or less familiar with this. Śaṅkara gives some allied forms which are combined to produce allied forms. e. g.

1. वि० स० भा० 6
2. बृ० उ० भा० 5-12-1
3. *Ibid*
4. वि० स० भा० 33
5. स० सु० भा० 2.37

1. *Aja* : 'The mover, the cupid' are traced to $\sqrt{aj}$, 'to go', $a + \sqrt{jan}$, 'to be born'.[1]

2. *Ātman* : 'The self' has been traced to many verbs optionally. The word appears to be the product of the following verbs namely, /*ap*, 'to pervade,' $\sqrt{ad}$, 'to enjoy,' $\bar{a} + \sqrt{d\bar{a}}$, 'to recetve,' $\sqrt{at}$, 'to exist eternally'.[2]

3. *Kṣetra* : 'The body' is traced optionally to *kṣata*+$\sqrt{kṣi}$, 'to perish' or $\sqrt{kṣar}$, 'to destroy'.[3]

(21)

As an etymologist, Śaṅkara proposes purposeful etymologies, though they are grammatically fictitious. The ideas associated with the words are facts; it is only the justification of those ideas through those etymologies, that is, false or far-fetched. He says that 'Vikrama'[4] is so called because he rides the bird (garuḍa). The case of Vikrama is an example of fictitious etymology. *Vi* is actually the preposition of that form and may not be the name of a thing or a person. The etymologies of *Svapiti*,[5] *Puruṣa*,[6] *Yajus*[7] etc. are of this kind.

(22)

Śaṅkara has offered a considerable number of purely philosophical etymologies which impress upon the world of philosophers even now. The following etymologies place him as the foremost philosopher-etymologist of India :

1. वि० स० भा० 35, 69
2. कठ० उ० भा० 4. 1; वि० स० भा० 13, 116, : ए० उ० भा० १.१.१; वै० उ० भा० 1.5
3. भ० गी० भा० 13-1
4. वि० स० भा० 22
5. छां० उ० भा० 1-1-7; ब्र० स० भा० 1-1-7
6. *Vide Fn.*3
7. बृ० उ० भा० 5-13-2

1. *Anna* : 'The unmanifested' is traced to √*ad*, 'to eat'. In Śaṅkara's view '*Anna*' as un-manifested, is common to all beings.[1]

2. *Abhivimāna* : 'The highest self' has been traced to *abhi* + *vi* + √*mā*, 'to measure; lit.

1. 'He who is known by all the animate beings,
2. He who is near everywhere, and who, at the same time, is measureless,
3. He who, as the cause of the world, creates it,
4. He who is cognised as individualised soul in the notion of 'I'.[2]

3. *Ātman* : 'The soul' has been derived from √*ap*, 'to pervade', *a* + √*dā*, 'to receive', √*ad*, 'to eat'. √*at* 'to exist eternally.[3]

4. *Brahman* : 'The great' is traced to √*bṛh* or √*bṛṁh* 'to increase'. Here Śaṅkara derived it from a root without a causal twist, to explain the essential nature (eternity, purity etc.) of Brahman.[4] On this Prof. Gonda[5] has rightly remarked; "[5] For Indian philosophers, the study of origin of names remained a source of knowledge 'Etymologies' being adduced as arguments." Elsewhere Śaṅkara expresses his view that Brahman is both the proximate cause of the Universe (from √*bṛh* alone) as well as the

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1. वि० स० भा० 118; तै० उ० भा० 2.2; माण्डू० उ० भा० 1-1-8; बृ० उ० भा० 1-2-5
2. छा० उ० भा० 5-18.1
3. कठ० उ० भा० 4-1; वि० स० भा० 116; ऐ० उ० भा० 1-1-1; तै० उ० भा० 1-5
4. वि० सं० भा० 84; ब्र० सू० भा० 1-1-1; ऐ० उ० भा० 1-3-13; तै० उ० भा० 5-2-1; बृ० उ० भा० 5-3-1; श्वे० उ० भा० 1.1
5. *Vide*, '*Stylistic repetition in the vedas*' *Amsterdam*, 1959, *P*. 379

material cause of the universe (from the same root but with a causal twist).

5. *Āṅgirasa* : 'The breath' is traced to *aṅga* and *rasa*–, 'The substance of cause and effect.' Here Ācārya opines that aṅgirasa is the prāṇa as the essence of limbs. It is the essence of cause and effect. It is the essence of everything because unless it were present, all the world would become without effect. Therefore, prāṇa as the essence of cause and effect, is considered under the idea of 'I'.[1]

6. *Kūṭastha* : 'The immutable' comes from *Kūṭa* + √*sthā*, lit. (1) That which remains immovable like a heap, or (2) That which manifests itself in various froms of illusion and deception etc.[2]

7. *Kṛṣṇa* : 'The scraper' has been derived from √kṛṣ, so called because 'he draws away all sins and other causes of evils from his devotees'.[3]

8. *Nārāyaṇa* : 'An epithet of Viṣṇu' is the compound of two members namely, *nāra* and *ayana*–, 'He whose abode is *naras* (The ethers and effects)".[4]

(9) *Akṣara* : 'The supreme-being' is traced to √*aś*, 'to pervade', √*aś*, 'to eat', lit.,

(1) 'He who pervades', or (2) 'He who enjoys'.[6]

(10) *Devas* : 'The functions of the sense organs' regulated by the scriptures' have been traced to √*div* 'to shine'.[7]

1. छां० उ० भा० 1-2-10; बृ० उ० भा० 1-3-19
2. भ० गी० भा० 15-16
3. भा० गी० भा० 6-34
4. वि० स० भा० 39
5. ब्र० सू० भा० 1-3-10; भ० गी० भा० 8.3, 11.18; 15-16; श्वे० उ० भा० 4-15; बृ० उ० भा० 3-8-8; मुं० उ० भा० 1.2.13; वि० स० भा० 15
6. छां० उ० भा० 1-2-1; बृ० उ० भा० 1-3-1

PROBLEMS REGARDING THE DATE OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

*Dr. Asim Kumar Chatterjee**

The *Mahābhārata* is by far the most complex and comprehensive literary product not only of India but also of the world. This poem which has rightly been termed as a 'whole literatue' by a celebrated German Indologist is truly the testament of the ancient Indian civilization and culture. No literary figure in the vast domain of sanskrit literature is immune from the all-pervading influence of the *Mahābhārota*. Poets and dramatists beginning from Bhāsa-and Kālidāsa down to Tagore of our own times have freely borrowed from this great epic. Even the bitter enemies of the Hindus viz. the Jains and Buddhists have sometimes openly and sometimes surreptitiously borrowed materials and ideas from this poem. This great and gentle epic like the *devatātmā Himālaya* has continued to feed the best and noblest minds of India.

But the million dollar question when was this great epic composed is still eluding the most competent and discerning historians of our times. However, everyone now admits that it is a product not of one or two generations, but of many, not of one or two hands but of a multitude. Hopkins, a great student of the two epics, came to the conclusion that it is a work compiled after the Buddha and completed by the time the Imperial Guptas came to power. Majority of Indologists have bluntly accepted this conclusion of that American scholar and any theory which goes against his is regarded almost as sacreligious.

None, we believe, will deny that this poem does not contain hundreds, of interpolated verses. There are innumerable

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references to such foreign tribes as the Yavanas, Hūṇas, Cīnas, Śakas, Pārasīkas and others. There are two references to the term *edūka* which may or may not mean a Buddhist *Stūpa*; such terms as the '18 *mahāpurānas*' or '*caturvyūha*' also occur in the body of the epic, but none of these references is post-Christian. The Śakas were an old tribe being mentioned in the inscriptions of Darius and the 'history' of Herodotus. The Hūṇas, referred to in the great epic, are not necessarily the Hūṇas who invaded India during the reign of Skandagupta. Probably they were known to Indians from a much earlier date. Referenc to the Cīnas and Pārasīkas also do not make much difference. We do not know exactly from what period the Chinese came into contact with the Indians, but there is no doubt that the first contact between the two great nations was established centuries before the birth of Christ. The persians or the Pārasīkas are known to have attacked North-West India as early as the 6th century B. C.

It is a fact that like the *Rāmāyana*, the *Mahābhārata* contains highly exaggerated accounts about kings of hoary antiquity. We have for instance the examples of Yayāti and Sagara. The former is represented as having enjoyed his son's youth for 1000 years and the latter is described as the father of no less than 60,000 sons. Such examples can easily be multiplied, but when it comes to the question of the immediate predecessors and successors of the heroes of the Bhārata war, the poets of the *Mahābhārata* display wonderful chronological sanity. From Śāntanu kings are no longer described as reigning for hundreds or thousands of years but are given reign-periods which are eminently reasonable.[1] Here I woudl like to give in a nut shell the chronological scheme from Śāntanu

1. The present author has discussed these chronological problems in a paper included in the work entitled *Ancient Indian Literary and Cultural Tradition* which is in the press.

down to Janamejaya II, the great-grandson of the Bhārata hero Arjuna.

1. Śāntanu's rule lasted for 36 years.
2. Citrāṅgada, his elder son by Satyavatī ruled for 3 years.
3. Vicitravīrya had a total reign of 7 years.
4. Bhīṣma, after Vicitravīrya's death, acted as regent for roughly 17 years.
5. Pāṇḍu did not rule for more than 12 years.
6. Yudhiṣṭhira's rule at Indraprastha lasted for 20 years.
7. 12 years of *Vanavāsa*.
8. *ajñātavāsa* for one year.
9. Preparation of war—6 months.
10. The Bhārata war lasted for 18 days.
11. Commencement of the reign of Yudhiṣṭhira at Hastināpura.
12. Death of Bhīṣma–58 days after he was wounded in the war i. e. 50 days after the Bhārata War.
13. Birth of Parīkṣit II—4 months after the Bhārata War.
14. Dhṛtarāṣṭra's departure for the forest—15 years after the Bhārata War.
15. Death of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Gāndhārī and Pṛthā—18 years after the Bhārata War
16. Destruction of the Vṛṣṇis and the death of Baladeva and Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa–36 years after Bhārata War.
17. Abdication of Yudhiṣṭhira and commencement of the reign of Parīkṣit II at Hastināpura and Vajra (great-grandson of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa) at Indraprastha–36 years after the Bhārata War.
18. Death of the Pāṇḍavas - shortly after Yudhiṣṭhira's abdication of the throne.

19. Death of Parīkṣit II-after a rule of 24 years.

20. Accession of Janamejaya II to the throne of Hastināpura at the age of forty (approximate). His conquest of Taxila.

The above chronological table taken from the *Mahābhārata* abundantly shows that the poets of that work had a very intimate knowledge of the lives and activities of the main figures of the Kuru house. The Ādiparvan does not show any acquaintance wtth any of the royal descendants of Janamejaya II although it knows his two sons Śatānīka and Śaṅkukarṇa and his grandson Aśvamedhadatta. The Purāṇas inform us that during the reign of Nicakṣu, the great-great-grandson of Janamejaya the city ef Hastināpura was carried away by the Ganges and that king had to transfer his capital to Kauśāmbī. Nowhere in the *Mahābhārata* this very significant fact is recorded. This transfer of capital from Hastināpura to Kauśāmbī is, in our opinion, the turning point in early political history of India. From this time down to the days of the Buddha, the city of Kauśāmbī continued to play a very important role in Indian political scene. After the Buddha, Kauśāmbī's position was captured by Pāṭaliptura.

Apart from the chronolical sincerity displayed by the poets of the *Mahābhārata*, they have objectively presented the actual events before and after the Bhārata war. Although everywhere we are confronted with hundreds and thousands of irrelevant matters, the activities of the Pāṇḍava and Kaurava heroes and heroines are recorded with a sincerity that can only be expected from someone who had a thorough knowledge of the events that actually took place. Sometimes we come across passages which can only be expected from the pen of a poet-historian. One such passage we can quote from the 7th Book. After Dhṛṣṭadyumna's cowardly murder, Arjuna in great agony and shame utters the following words —

yadā gatam̐ vayo bhūyaḥ śiṣṭamalpataram̐ ca naḥ /

tasyedānīm̐ vikāro' yamadharmo yatkṛto mahān //

(167.42)

"All of us have passed the greater part of our lives. The days that remain to us are limited. This exceedingly unrighteous act that we have perpetrated has strained that remnant". In this verse Arjuna directly admits that he and other Pāṇḍavas have already passed the greater part of their lives. Such words are natural for a man who has passed 50 summers. The second example we would like to cite is from the 15th Book of the *Mahābhārata*, where Draupadī, that matchless heroine, is actually described as a lady of advanced years (*madhyam̐ vayaḥ* 32.9). Such examples are just too many to be cited in this short paper. We have for example, the delineation of Parīkṣit II, the grandson of Arjuna, as a tired old man of sixty:

pariśrānto vayaḥsthaśca ṣaṣṭivarṣo jarānvitaḥ /

kṣudhitaḥ sa mahāraṇye dadarśa munimantike //

(45.23)

Similarly realistic is the description of Droṇa fighting like a youth of sixteen:

ākarṇapalitaḥ śyāmo vayasāśītipañcakaḥ /

raṇe paryacarad=Droṇo Vṛddhaḥ ṣoḍaśavarṣavat //

(VII. 165.103)

An analysis of the contents of this great poem shows that in the undermentioned places the poets have not deviated much from reality-parts of the *Ādi*, the entire *Sabhā*, the entire *Virāṭa*, parts of the *Udyoga*, parts of the Books V to X, the entire *Strī*, parts of the Book XIV and all the chapters of the last 4 Books. The Books which look palpably later additions are the *Vana*, *Śānti* and *Anuśāsana* which between them have nearly 800 chapters. A very substantial part of the *Ādi* and *Udyoga* comprising about 250 chapters also fall in the same category. We can also safely exclude the hyperbolic and utterly unrealistic descriptions of the Bhārata War given in Books VI to X. Of course, we have no doubt that the events which took place in the 18–day Bhārata War have more or less been faithfully recorded. But the fanciful descriptions of these five Books, which account for nearly 450 chapters, should be ignored. This leaves only a little over 500 chapters, i.e., a quarter of the present size of the poem, in which the actual story of the *Mahābhārata* has been told. But in these 500 chapters one can discern a very distinct and bold attempt at realistic and dispassionate study of the great events that shook Northern India during the days of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Yudhiṣṭhira and Kṛṣṇa.

The geographical information contained in the *Mahābhārata* seems to suggest a much earlier date for a substantial part of this poem. Two great cities of the Buddha's time find no mention even in the latest parts of the epic; they are Pāṭaliputra and Ujjayinī. The first city, as we learn from the Buddhist sources, was

built during the reign of Ajātaśatru, a junior contemporary of the Buddha. The second one was a flourishing metropolis at his time, i.e., the 6th century B. C. Had the poets of the *Mahābhārata* been acquainted with these cities, they would not have failed to mention them. This is not purely *argumentum ex-silentio*; I personally regard the silence of the poets regarding these two cities as a decisive proof against the lateness of this poem. Some other highly important cities like Śrāvastī, Takṣaśilā and Kauśāmbī, too, are mentioned very sparingly. Takṣaśilā is mentioned, as we have already noted, only in connexion with the conquest of Janamejaya II. There is probably one doubtful reference to Kauśāmbī; Śrāvastī is dismissed in one verse which appears to be a late one. It is also interesting to note that such illustrious royal personalities like Bimbisāra, Ajātaśatru, Caṇḍa Pradyota Mahāsena, Candragupta Maurya and others are entirely ignored in the *Mahābhārata*; nor is there any reference to the Śākyas, the Nandas and the Mauryas. The *Mahābhārata* does not show any acquaintance with the celebrated city of Puṇḍravardhana (although it knows the Puṇḍras) which is epigraphically at least as old as the 3rd century B. C. The country of Nepāla, (which is referred to in the *Arthaśāstra*, a work not improbably of the 4th century B. C.) too, is ignored; same is the case with Samataṭa Rāḍha and Karṇasuvarṇa.

Some other factors, other than geographical, also seem to suggest quite an early date for at least the earlier parts of the Great epic. The *Mahābhārata* does

not know Gautama Buddha, nor any of his philosopher-rivals although it has so many things to say on *Ahiṁsā*. In the earlier parts, Kṛṣṇa is invariably painted as a man and a hero (who could be outmanoeuvred in battles). Kṛṣṇa himself admits in the Sabhāparvan that he along with other Vṛṣṇis was uprooted from Mathurā by Jarāsandha and had to flee, terror-stricken, to Kuśasthalī. The same book of the Great epic relates vividly how alongwith the Pāṇḍava friends, the treacherously killed that dangerous rival. In the *Śiśupālavadha-parvādhyāya* of the same Book, some other dark deeds of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa are told. All these things can only be explained, if we assume that the poet, who wrote these chapters, was probably a near contemporary of that celebrated Vṛṣṇi prince. In some Books like the *Vana*, *Śānti* and the *Anuśāsana*, Kṛṣṇa appears as a complete god and as one of the four of the *Vyūhas*. We have no doubt that the parts of the Great epic, where Kṛṣṇa's divinity is accepted, are later additions. But we strongly hold that all these additions were completed before Pāṇini and Heliodorus both of whom knew Vāsudeva as a 'god' to be worshipped.

Having examined briefly (and as a matter of fact inadequately) the internal evidence, we will now examine the so-called external evidences, which can throw some light on the date of the compilation of the *Mahābhārata*. In this connexion we would like first to refer to the amazing statement found in such an authoritative work as the *Cambridge History of India* (Vol. I, p. 258), "negative evidence in India makes it imporbable that any epic existed earlier than the fourth century B. C." If

we accept this statement, we have to believe that the original Pāli canon is older than the *Mahābhārata*. But any one, who has taken the trouble of going through the entire Buddhist Tripitaka including the *Jātakas*, will at once reject the theory proposed in the *Cambridge History of India*. The original *gāthā* section of the *Jātakas*, which is believed to be the oldest part of the Jātaka collection [and as Cowell suspects some verses of which may go back to the pre-Buddhist days] definitely shows acquaintance not only with characters described in both the epics, but with some of their verses.[1]

Besides the original Jātaka verses, there are indications even in the *Sutta Piṭaka* that the original Pāli writers were definitely acquainted with the events narrated in the *Mahābhārata*. We would like to give an example from the *Majjhima Nikāya* which would definitely prove our contention. In the *Isigilisutta* of this *Nikāya* (No. 116) we are told that one of the five hills of Rājagaha. i.e., Rājagṛha was known by the name *Pāṇḍava*. Now, in the *Sabhāparvan* (ch. 21) we actually get the names of the five hills as follows : Vaihāra, Varāha, Vṛṣabha, Ṛṣigiri and Caityaka. There is absolutely no doubt that only after the Pāṇḍavas' visit to

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1. The present author has discussed this question in a paper entitled "Epic Personalities in thc Pali Jataka's read in the last Oriental conference held at Ujjain in October, 1972, and a summary of which has been published in *Summaries of Paper of XXVI th All India Oriental Conference*, edited by V. Venkatachalam, pp. 208 f.

Rājagṛha (as described in the *Sabhāparvan*) one of the hills came to be known as the 'Pāṇḍava hill'. The writer of this particular *Sutta* further informs us that the Pāṇḍava hill was previously known by another name. although he does not tell that name. The writer of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, we can legitimately suspect, was acquainted with the account of the Pāṇḍava visit to Rājagṛha which is described in the Sabhā and which, as we have already said, is included in the original *Mahābhārata*. The original Jain canonical texts also show familiarity with the characters of our poem. Pāṇini,who cannot be placed later than the 5th century B. C., also is at home with the characters of the *Mahābhārata*. Bhāsa, Kauṭilya Vātsyāyana, Aśvaghosa and other early Sanskrit writers also show full acquaintance with the epics. Further we should note that the city of Indraprastha of epic fame, is described in the Buddhist works as an old and deserted city. This also proves that the geography of the early Pāli texts is later than that found in the *Māhābhārata*. Among the major cities prominently mentioned in the *Māhabhārata* only three, viz. Ayodhyā (i. e. Saketā), Kāśī and Rājagṛha remained prominent in the Buddha's days. Others like Hastināpura, Indraprastha, Māhiṣmati, Dvārakā, Kuśāvatī etc. became almost forgotten by the time the Buddha appeared.

It is difficult in this short dissertation to deal with all the problems connected with the date of the composition of this great poem; but the above discussion shows that the *Māhabhārata* is, at least 'older' than the earliest Pāli canon. The 'spirit' of this poem is surely not the same as that of the Jātakas, which is much more artificial.

Unlike the Buddhist texts our poem portrays the artlessly simple life of our early forefathers.

Let hs now venture to give our final conclusions:-

(A) The earliest parts of this poem was completed after Janamejaya , but 11 before Nicakṣus, during whose reign the city of Hastināpura was destroyed by the Ganges.

(B) A very substential portion came to be written after Nicakṣus but before the time of the Buddha.

(C) Some chapters were probably added after the Buddha; but all such later additions were completed before the time of Patañjali.

THE LOKĀYATA SYSTEM OF THOUGHT IN ANCIENT INDIA

K. C. CHATTOPADHYAYA

आदित्यं परमं ज्योति-र्लोकत्रयप्रकाशकम् ।

आदित्य-तृप्तये नत्वा, लोकायतमतं ब्रुवे ॥

The late Dr. Adityanatha Jha, for whom the present Memorial number of the Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute is being published, delivered at Bhopal three lectures in Sanskrit on "the Synthesis of Indian Philosophical Systems" in 1961. They were published in book-form in Hindi in 1969 by the Madhya Pradesh Sahitya Parishat under the title of *Bhāratīya Darśana kā samanvaya.* It gives a bird's eye survey of Indian Systems of Thought in three chapters and an appendix. It is an excellent summary of Indian Philosophy and its presentation is highly interesting.

On pages 88 to 94, Dr. Jha has given an account of the Cārvāka or Lokāyata philosophy, following medieval texts like the *Sarvadarśana Saṁgraha* of Mādhavācārya. At the end he has given the following appraisal of the Cārvāka doctrines which shows great originality of approach.

"The importance of this philosophy lies in the emphasis that has been accorded to the physical world. Human efforts have been accepted and incentive given to the enrichment of life. If properly understood, it

teaches that if man desisting from useless ritualism and from depending on fate, uses instead his own efforts, he may enjoy lifelong happiness and a successful life. The greatest gifts of this system are the acceptance of moral values (*sic*) and direction towards personal efforts for achieving human happiness after casting off the bonds of fate."[1]

Though the treatment of the Cārvāka or Lokāyata system has followed the traditional view, as given in the *Bhāṣya* of Śaṅkarācārya on the *Vedānta sūtras*[2], the *Nyāya-mañjarī* of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa[3], *the Ṣaḍdarśana-samuccaya* of Haribhadra Sūri[4], the *Sarvasiddhāntasaṅgraha* ascribed to the great Śaṅkarācārya[5], the *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha* of.

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1. This is a rather free translation in English from the Hindi version, p. 95.

2. I. 1. 2; II. 2,2 and III. 3.53.

3. Vizianagram Sanskrit Series edition, pages 270 and 427.

4. Bibliotheca Indica edition, verses 80–86, pp. 301-308.

5. Edited by M. Rangacharya, Madras, 1909, pp. 5-6. The author could not have been the great Śaṅkarācārya, as assumed by the editor. The internal evidence is distinctly against this authorship. The treatment of the *Vedāntapakṣa* in this work is unlike the treatment of the great Ācārya in his well-known commentaries and *prakaraṇa* texts. The actual name of the author was proably *Śaṅkarārya*. Śaṅkarārya is the writer of a number of commentaries on different subjects, all called *Jayamaṅgalā*, on the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, the Nītisāra of Kāmandakī, the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana, the *Rāvaṇavadha* (popularly known as Bhaṭṭikāvya) of Bhaṭṭi and the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* of Iśvarakṛṣṇa. See the Introduction by Mahāmahopādhyāya Padmavibhūṣaṇa Dr. Gopinatha Kaviraja in Dr. Haradatta Sharma's edition of the last named work. pp. 8-9.

Madhavācārya[6] and the famous *Sarvadārśana-kaumudī* of Mādhavasarasvatī.[7].

The earlier references, however, show that Lokayata was a respectable system of thought in Ancient India. These references are given below. They are enumerated in accordance with clarity, without following a chronological order.

First of all, we have an interesting statement in the *Vidyāsamuddeśa* (Naming of 'Branches of Learning') section of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. Kauṭilya says that in his view, the Vidyas are four: *Ānvīkṣakī* (Philosophy), *Trayī* (Veda), *Vārtā* (Economics) and *Daṇḍanīti* (Politics). *Ānvīkṣakī* includes *Sāṅkhya, Yoga* and *Lokāyata*. As this section is very important for our purpose, I reproduce the whole passage;

"आन्वीक्षकी (आन्वीक्षिकी) त्रयी वार्ता दण्डनीतिश्चेति विद्याः । त्रयी वार्ता दण्डनीतिश्चेति मानवाः, त्रयी विशेषो ह्यान्वीक्षकीति । वार्ता दण्डनीतिश्चेति वहिस्पत्याः, संवरणमात्रं, हि त्रयी लोकयात्राविद इति । दण्डनीतिरेका विद्येत्यौशनसाः तस्यां हि सर्वविद्यारम्भाः प्रतिवद्धा इति । चतस्र एव विद्या इति कौटिल्यः (कौटल्यः) । ताभिर्धर्मार्थौ यद्विद्यातद्विद्यानां विद्यात्वम् । सांख्यं योगो लोकायतं चेत्यान्वीक्षकी (आन्वीक्षिकी) धर्माधर्मौ त्रय्याम् । अर्थानर्थौ वार्तायाम् । नयानयौ (नयापनयौ) दण्डनीत्याम् ।बलाबले चैतासां हेतुभिरन्वीक्षमाणा लोकस्योपकरोति, व्यसनेऽभ्युदये च बुद्धिमवस्थापयति प्रज्ञावाक्यं क्रियावैशारद्यं च करोति ।

प्रदीपः सर्वविद्यानामुपायः सर्वकर्मणाम् ।
आश्रयः सर्वधर्माणां शश्वदान्वीक्षकी मता ॥[8]

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6. Section 1, Ānandāśrama edition, Poona, 1966, pp. 1-6.
7. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, Trivandrum, 1938, p. 4.
8. Punjab Sanskrit Series, No. 14, vol. I, edited by Julius Jolly, Lahore, 1923 p. 4, University of Mysore, Central Library Publications, No: 54, edited by R. Shama Sastri, Mysore, 1919, pp. 6-7 and revised edition, 1960, p. 16 f.

Ānvīkṣakī (Philosophy), *Trayī* (Vedas), *Vārtā* (Economics) and *Daṇḍanīti* (Politics or science of Government) are the *Vidyās* (Branches of learning). The Mānavas take them to be *Trayī*, *Vārtā* and *Daṇḍanīti* because *Ānvīkṣakī* is a particular form of *Trayī*. The followers of Bṛhaspati accept *Vārtā* and *Daṇḍanīti*, because Trayī is only a kind of cover for those who are worldly wise. The followers of Śukra say that Daṇḍanīti is the only *Vidyā*, because on it depend all efforts for the acquisition of knowledge. But Kauṭilya says *Vidyās* are difinitely four. They are known as *Vidyās* (from √ *vid* to know), because through them one may understand dharma (right conduct) and adharma (wrong conduct). Sāṅkhya, Yoga and Lokāyata constitute *Ānvīkṣakī*. Dharma and adharma are (taught) in *Trayī*, desirable and undesirable things are in Vārtā, order and disorder in *Daṇḍanīti*. *Ānvīkṣakī* is always known as a light to all sciences, a means for all actions and the receptacle of all merits, by investigating through causal enquiries the greater or lesser strength of these opposites helps the world, keeps the mind in balance in adversity or prosperity and increases intelligence and powers of speech.[9]

Kāmandakī's *Nītisāra*, which is based on Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, give a kind of paraphrase of this passage in the *Vidyāvibhāga Prakaraṇa* in canto II of his work (verses 1-15). He has defined *Ānvīkṣikī* as *ātma-vijñāna* (knowledge of self).

It is clear that *Ānvīkṣakī* or *Ānvīkṣikī* meant in Kauṭilya 'Philosophy' in general and not 'Logic, as the

9. *Ānvīkṣakī* is always known as a light to all Sciences, a means for all actions and the receptacle of all merits.

late Professor Surendra Nath Dasgupta and, following[10] him, Shri Debi Prasad Chattopadhyaya[11] comprehended. Professor Dasgupta ought to have understood better. Sāṅkhya and Yoga are not logical sciences. How can Lokāyata, which keeps company with them, mislead Vātsyāyana, who in his Bhāṣya (Commentary) on the *Nyāyasūtras* of Gautama, has monoplised the name *Ānvīkṣikī* for the Nyāya system. He has said in his commentary on the first Sūtra·

"कः पुनरयं न्याय : ? प्रमाणैरर्थ-परीक्षणं न्यायः। प्रत्यक्षागमसाश्रितम् अनुमानम्। सान्वीक्षा। प्रत्यक्षागमाभ्यामीक्षितस्यान्वीक्षणम् अन्वीक्षा। तया प्रवर्तत इत्यान्वीक्षिकी, न्यायविद्या, न्यायशास्त्रम्।"···सेयमान्वीक्षिकी प्रमाणादिभिः पदार्थैं विभज्यमाना

प्रदीपः सर्वं विद्यानामुपायः सर्वकर्मणाम्।
आश्रयः सर्वधर्माणां विद्योद्देशे प्रकीर्तिता॥[12]

This has been rendered into English by my revered Guru the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. G. nganatha Jha thus :

"What do you mean by this nyāya or reasoning? It means the examination of things by means of proofs, that is to say, inference based upon perception and verbal cognition, is called 'Nyāya' or Reasoning, it is also called 'Anvīkṣā' (Investigation) because it consists in the reviewing (anu-īkṣaṇa) of a thing previously apprehended (*īkṣita*) through perception and verbal

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10. *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. III, p. 512.

11. Lokāyata system, p. 25.

12. The Nyāyasūtras with Vātsyāyana's Bhāṣya, Vizainagaram Sanskrit Series, Vol. IX, pp. 3 and 7.

cognition ; the science that proceeds by this investigation, is *Ānvīkṣikī,* Nyāyavidyā,, Nyāyaśātsra, the science of Reasoning (Logic). The aforesaid *Science of Reasoning,* dealing as it does with *Means of Right Cognition* and the other categories :

Is the lamp of all sciences; the Means (of the knowledge) of all things: it is the basis of all activities and as such it has been expounded at the very outset (of all scientific investigation)."[13]

The translation is practically the same as published in *Indian thought.* The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, though published in 1909, was not before Dr. Jha, when he translated the *Nyāyabhāṣya* and the *Nyāyavārtika* in the *Indian Thought.* Vātsyāyana has clearly copied Kauṭilya's closing verse, changing only the last line but referring to the name of the section of the *Arthaśāstra* (*Vidyāsamuddeśa*) in a slightly shorter form (Vidyoddeśa) necessitated by the exigencies of metre. Failure to keep the *Arthaśāstra* original in mind misled that erudite historian of Indian Philosophy, Dr. S. N. Dasgupta, and also serveral other scholars.

Let us now try to understand the meaning of the term *Lokāyata* in Kauṭilya's work. It is clearly not the heretical Cārvāka system of later times, because it is listed with the respectable systems of Sāṅkhya and Yoga. Early Bnddhist literature confirms this.

In the Pali literature, canonical and non-canonical, we have a fairly large number of references to the Lokāyata system. The passages in the *Tripiṭaka* are :

13. Poona Oiiental Series, No. 59, Poona, 1939, pp. 6 and 11.

SUTTA PIṬAKA :

(*1*) *Dīgha Nikāya*, Volume I,

I Brahmajāla Sutta

II Sāmaññaphala Sutta

V Kūṭadanta Sutta

(2) *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, Volume II,

XLVIII Lokāyata Sutta

(3) *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, Volume I,

IX Jāṇussoṇi Sutta

VINAYA PIṬAKA :

(*1*) *Cullavagga*

V. 17 Tiracchāna Vijjā-lasuṇakhādanādini

(*2*) *Pācittiya*

V. 18 (1) Chabaggiyabhikkhuvatthu.

In the *Brahmajālasutta*, Buddha tells his desciples that many Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas deal with useless branches of learning.[14] Of these Lokayata has nothing to do with these branches of learning.[15]

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14. Sections 21-27, Nālandā edition, pp. 10-12.

15. Section 25, p. 11. All the references to the *Sut'a Piṭaka* are to be understood as from the Nālandā texts.

In the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* there is a long dialogue between the king of Magadha, Ajātaśatru, son of Bimbisāra and Buddha. There also we have a long list of useless branches of learning which are practically identical with those in the Brahmajāla-Sutta. We have Lokāyata mentioned after Kāveyya.[16]

In the *Kūṭadanta-Sutta*, we are told that the learned Brāhmaṇa Kūṭadanta was performing a big vedic sacrifice to which hundreds of Brāhmaṇas had been invited. After the ceremony was finished, Kūṭadanta saw a number of Brāhmaṇa householders going to visit the Buddha who had come in that locality. When Kūṭadanta saw this, he too desired to meet the Lord and hear his discourse. When the invited Brāhmaṇas heard of this, they expressed surprise and in trying to make him desist, reminded him that he was a learned Brāhmaṇa skilled in all the three Vedas along with the *Vedāṅgas*, in different recensions (*Sākkharappabhedānam*) and the *Itihāsa*, knowing the *Padapāṭha*, a grammarian and a knower of *Lokāyata* and marks of a great man (*māhāpuriṣa*) and possessing Brāhmaṇical lustre and honoured by king Bimbisāra.[17]

In the *Lokāyatika-Sutta* of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, a Brāhmaṇa following the Lokāyata System approaches the Buddha at Śrāvastī and the Lord answers to him in his usual non-committal way. The questions and answers are as follows :-

16. Section 60, p. 61.

17. Section 9, p. 111,

Q. Gotama, does every thing exist ?

A. That everything exists, is O Brāhmaṇa, the first *Lokāyata* (view)

Q. Then Gotama, does nothing exist?

A. That nothing exists is, O Brāhmaṇa, the second *Lokāyata*.

Q. Have all, O Gotama, the same self ?

A. That all have the same self is, O Brāhmaṇa, verily the third *Lokāyata*.

Q. Have, O Gotama, all different selves?

A. That all have different selves is, O Brāhmaṇa, the fourth *Lokāyata*.

After evading straight answers to these questions, which were useless from the point of view, he teaches Kūṭadanta his own idea of the *Dharma*.

After hearing this discourse the Brāhmaṇa is converted and takes refuge in the Buddha.[18]

In the *Jāṇussoṇi Sutta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, there is a dialogue between the Brāhmaṇa Jāṇussoṇi and the Buddha. The Lord asks the Brāhmaṇa, how Brāhmaṇas teach the three vidyās (*tevijjam paññāpenti*), The Brāhmaṇa describes that such a Brāhmaṇa has a glorious ancestry and knows all the branches of Vedic and other learnings in words that agree with the *Kūṭadanta Sutta*.[19]

18. *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, Vol. II, *Sutta* XLVIII, Section 50, pp. 65-66. According to the *Kūṭadanta Sutta* Section 33, p. 136. Kūṭadanta also took refuge in Buddha Dharma and Saṁgha after he was taught by the Buddha the true nature of sacrifices.

19. Vol. I, *Brāhmaṇa- Vagga*, Section 9, p. 153.

In the *Vinaya Piṭaka* also there are two references, one under the title of *Lokāyata* and the other Lokākkhāyika, the former in *Cullavagga*, Section 17 *Tiracchāna Vijjā* and other in *Pācittiya*, Section 85, *Chabbaggiyabhikkhuvatthu*.

In the *Cullavagga*, we are told that in Śrāvastī, the six (non-conformist) Bhikṣus were reported as studying the *Lokāyata śāstra*. The Buddha disapproved of this and he asked his followers not to study *Lokāyata* texts.[20]

In the *Pācittiya*, we are told that the same six Bhikṣus were indulging in various discourses on kings, thieves, chief ministers, army, food, drink, clothes, bed, garlands, sandal paste, relations, conveyances, villages, guilds, cities, states, women, men, heroes, arrows, places of water, poets, departed persons, various topics,[21] *Lokākkhyāyika*—(Lokāyata), *Samuddakkhāika* (discourse on the ocean), births and deaths. This was reported to Buddha, who expressed his disapproval of this conduct of theirs.[22] It is, however, possible that *Lokākkhāyika* here does not mean *Lokāyata*,[23] as the next word is *Samuddakkhāyika* (marine lore). It probably means 'discourse on Land (or the world).

20. Page 229. Incidentally this passage shows that there were actual texts of the Lokāyata system, which Professor Rhys Davids thought never existed (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol. I, p. 172).

21. *Nānatthakathaṁ*, reading of the edition in Roman script of H. Oldenberg. The Nālandā edition gives the reading nānattakathaṁ, which means, discourse on various souls.

22. P. 219.

23. G. P. Malasekara has said that Lokāyata is much the same as *Lokakkhāyika* (popular philosophy); *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, Vol. II, p. 787.

Besides these references, we have two references to it in the older portion of the semi-canonical text, *Milinda Pañho,* of about the first century A. D.[24] In this work Nāgasena, born in a Brahmaṇa family, became "skilled in the three Vedas along with the *Vedāṅgas* in different recensions (*Sākkhara-bhedesu*) and the *Itihāsa.*[25] Knowing the Padapāṭha, a grammarian, a knower of *Lokāyata* and of marks of a great man" in words identical with and evidently borrowed from those in the *Kūṭadanta sutta* (*Dīgha-Nikāya,* I. V. 9).[26] This was prior to his conversion to Buddhism. In an earlier passage Milinda has been described as interested in discussions with followers of *Lokāyata* and disputants (*Lokāyata vitaṇḍa-janasallāpakotūhalo*).[27]

In Buddhaghoṣa's commentary, *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī* on the *Dīghanikāya* we have his explanation of *Lokāyata* as *vitaṇḍāvādasattham* (the science of sophistry and debate).[28]

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24. Books IV to VII of the text, which are lacking in the Chinese translation of the work made between 317-420 A.D. (*Ibid.* p. 141 and f. n. 2) See also M. Winternitz, Geschichte der indischen literatur, Zweiter Band, 1920, p. 14.

25, That is the *Mahābhārata.* The actual word used is *Itihāsa-pañcameṣu* (with *Itihāsa* as the fifth), showing that the *Atharvaveda* was also included in the Vedas, cf. *Vedān adhyāpayāmāsa Mahābhārata pañcamān,* quoted in the *Vedāntaparibhāṣā* (Edition of Svāmī Mādhavānanda, Belur Math, p. 12).

26. *Milindapañho,* ed. R. D. Vadekar, p. 11.

27. *Ibid,* p. 4.

28. Pali Text Society edition, I, 247,

In the *Aṭṭhasālini*, commentary on the *Dhammasaṅgaṁ*, he makes references to the Vitaṇḍāvādin four times.[29] The pali Lexicon (*Abhidhānppadīpikā* by Moggalāna glosses *Lokāyata* as *Vitaṇḍaṁ viññeyaṁ sattaṁ*.[30]

Moggalāna seems to have taken his due from Buddhaghoṣa and the grammarian Aggavasṁa who lived a generation earlier than Moggalāna.[31]

Outside Buddhist Pali literature, we have in the *Śakuntalopākhyāna* in the *Ādiparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* the word Lokāyata used in a good sense. In Kaṇva's hermitage lived learned Brāhmaṇas knowing the Vedas and other scriptures and attached to practices leading to salvation (*mokṣadharmaparāyaṇaiḥ*). Duṣyanta is reported to have formed the palace filled with the voice of chief Lokāyatikas (*Lokāyatika-mukhyaiśca*).[32] Nīlakaṇṭha in his commentary on this passage gives the straight-forward explanation "Lokāyatikas are persons who make efforts (āyatante from√*yat* 'to strive) in the world (*loka*) (their

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29. cf. edition of Bapat and Vadekar, I, 5 (p. 4); III, 123 (p. 75); III, 129 (p. 76) and III. 531 (p. 197).

30. Edition of W. Subhuti, Colombo 1900, 112, p. 18. The English translation given by Subhuti is 'fabulous discussion'. obviously a mistake. The Sinhalese translation is simply *lokāyata śāstraya*.

31. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, P. 168.

32. Chitrashala Press Edition, Vol. I, Chapter 70, v. 46 d, p. 135. The Bhandarkar edition, Vol. I, Chapter 43, verse 37,

(Continued on the following page)

best are the persons who try to please the world." (*teṣu lokarañjanapareṣu mukhyaiḥ*).[33]

In the supplement to the *Mahābhārata*, the *Harivaṁśa* also, there is a reference to the *Lokāyata*. The gods being troubled by the demon Bali go to Kaśyapa and he takes them to Brahman. There they find Brahman learned in Vedic and other scriptures and they heard the sounds of the chief *Lokāyatikas*.[34] Here, too, Nilakaṇṭha explains *Lokāyatika-mukhyaiḥ* as knower of the scriptures (śāstravidbhiḥ). He further remarks that it cannot be assumed that there can exist in Brahman's region Lokāyatas who believe the body to be the self and are hostile to the Vedas, i. e., the later Cārvākas.[35]

In the sister-text of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the Lokāyatikas appear in a slightly different light. In the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, we are told that Bharata, after return from his maternal

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p. 290 reads the verse as :

स्थापनाक्षेपसिद्धान्तपरमार्थज्ञतां गतैः ।

लोकायतिकमुख्यैश्च समन्तादनुनादितम्॥

The significance of this reading will appear below. W. Hopkin's view (*the Great Epic of India*. p. 87) that the reference to the Lokāyata or the Lokāyatika in *Mahābhārata* I,70, 46 is "doubtful" is belied by the critical Bhandarkar edition.

33. Chitrashala edition, I, p. 135.

34. Chitrashala Press edition, *Bhaviṣya Parvan*. Chapter 66, verse 30.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 628.

place, learns about the departation of Rāma and he goes to the Citrakūṭa forest to persuade him to return to Ayodhyā and accept the royal throne. On seeing, him, Rāma asks him a number of questions, mostly about the duties of a king He wants to know if Bharata was performing those duties. Among them is a question, if he was patronising Lokāyatika Brāhmaṇas, who consider themselves wise men but are actually foolish and mischievous persons, having a logical bent of mind (*buddhiṣu ānvīkṣikim prāpya*) preach useless things.[36] The entire portion on *rājadharma* (duties of a king) appear to be an interpolation.[37] It is extremely unnatural that

36. Baroda Edition, II, 94 32,33 (p. 537,; Nirnay Sagar Press Edition with *Tilaka* commentary, II, 100. 38, 39 (p. 312), Madras Law Journal Press Edition, II, 100. 39, 40 (p. 271), Gujrati Press edition with *Tilaka*, *Śiromaṇi* and *Bhuṣaṇa* commentaries, the last named by Gorrudarāju, the Bombay and Madras editions following what is called the Devanāgari recension, the Lahore edition of Professor Ramalobhaya giving the North-Western recension, II, 114. 30, 31 (p. 436) and Pandit Amareśwara Thakur's Metropolition Press edition, Calcutta, with Lokanātha's commentary, according to the Bengali recension, II, 109. 29, 30 (pp. 1833-34), the South Indian recension represented in the edition of P. P. S. Sastri.

37. It is not found in the *Rāmopākhyāna* in the *Vanaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*, which is earlier than the earliest manuscript of the epic available to us (Vulgate text) Chapter 277, Bhandarkar edition Ch. 261). Like the sister text of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* appears to have been originally a much shorter text than the one in circulation. That the text originally ended with *Yuddhakāṇḍa* is clear from (1) the closing words and (2) the *phala-śruti* of the readings of the *Rāmāyaṇa* at the end of the *kāṇḍa* (3) the name *Uttara* for the seventh *kāṇḍa* and (4) the story in the summary in

(Continued on following page)

Rāma after asking Bharata about the welfare of Daśaratha and Kauślayā would go in for a long harangue on the duties of a king that Bharata should observe, without an answer from his step-brother about the welfare of his parents or that Bharata would not stop him and tell him that their father was no more. His whole discourse is thus a clumsy interpolation of very late date trying to emulate the *Rājadharma* section of the *Śāntiparvan* of the *Mahābhārata.* The Lokāyata in this *Rāmāyaṇa* passage is not, therefore, the *Lokāyata* of Kauṭilya, Kāmandaka, early Pali literature, *Mahābhārata and* the *Harivaṁśa.*

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the beginning of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Rāmopākhyāna* in the *Vanaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* ending with Rāma's return from Lankā and investiture as king of Ayodhyā. Herman Jacobi has contended that large portions of the *Bālakāṇḍa* were added later, besides the whole of the *Uttara-kāṇḍa* (*Das Râmâyaṇa*, Bonn, 1893). He has also tried to show that there are several interpolations in the intervening portions The present text has 24,000 ślokas (verses). But an early Budhist tex', now found only in Chinsese translation, asserts that the *Rāmāyaṇa*, had12,00 ślokas at that time. As a book called the *Rāmāyaṇa* contains 12,000 ślokas. They explain only two topics : (1) Rāvaṇa carries Sītā off by violence and (2) Rāma recovers Sītā and returns. The Buddhist scriptures are not so simple. Their forms of composition and meanings are respectively immeasurable and infinite (K. Watanabe, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1907, pp. 99 ff.). The chinese text is Yuan Chwang's translati n of the *Mahāvibhāṣā* (Nanjo's *catalogue*, nos. 1263, 1264), a commentary on the *Jñānaprasthāna* (Nanjo's Nos. 1273, 1275) The date of the *Mahāvibhāṣā* is the 3rd century A. D. (Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 128) *Jñānaprasthāna* of Kātyāyana or Kātyāyanīputra is an *Abhidharma* text of the *Mahāyāna* of a much earl:er date (*Ibid.*, p. 5, f. n. 3) The *Rāmāyaṇa* was about half of its present size in the third century A. D., according to the *Mahāvibhāṣā.*

Let us now take stock of the genuine references given above. The *Lokāyata* was originally a respectable system of philosophy followed by many orthodox Brāhmaṇas well-versed in the Vedic lore. The word *Lokāyata* was derived from *loka,* meaning the world. *Lokāyata* was thus mature lore.[38] It was probably a precursor of of the Vaiśeṣika system of thought.[39] It was not a system of atheism,[40] of identification of the self with the

38 That is also the interpretation of Rhys Davids in his *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol, I, p. 171.

39. M. Winternitz, Geschichte der indischen literatur, Vol. III, p. 463, has expressed a similar view.

40. J. Muir has misunderstood Kumārila's reference to Lokāyatism in *Ślokavārtika* verses 10 (*Original Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. III p. 209, having been misled by Rev. K.M. Banerjea. Kumārila's words are:

प्रायेणैव हि मीमांसा लोके लोकायतीकृता ।
तामास्तिकपथे कर्तुमयं यत्नः कृतो मया ॥

Banerjea informed Muir "that the Mīmāṁsaka commentator Prabhākara and his school to have been an atheistic system while Kumārila treats it as theistic". *Lokāyatīkṛtā* does not mean 'turned into atheism nor "*āstikapathe kartum*" to bring it into the path of theism'. Śabara and his commentators, Kumārila and Prabhākara had practically identical views about the denial of God as creator of a connexion between *sabda* (word) and *artha* (meaning) in connexion with Jaimini's *Pūrvamīmāṁsā Sūtra* I-1.5. See Mm. Dr. Ganganatha Jha, *Pūrvamīmāṁsā* pp. 43-52. It is Śālikanātha, commentator of Prabhākara, who has clearly denied in the *Prakaraṇapañcikā* that God is a creator of the world *prāyeṇa* in *Ślokavārtika*, verse 10, meaning 'generally', bears out reference to Prabhākara and his school. Umbeka in his commentary on the *Ślokavārtika* has stated that the reference is to Bhartṛmitra author of the *Tattva-Śuddhi*) and others. He has explained that Vedic

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body[41] and of the denial of the authority of the Vedas, which are basic tenets of the later *Lokāyata* or Cārvāka systems. There are references to *dehātmavāda* and *svabhāvavāda* (naturalism) even in the *Upaniṣads* and the *Mahābhārata*[42]. Some of the doctrines of the later *Lokāyata* and *Cārvāka* system may have been anticipated

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injunctions and forbiddances have been circumscribed by these interpreters and thus *Mimāṁsā* has been reduced to *Lokāyata* which in Kumārila's time was supposed to deny the authority of the Vedas. See *Ślokavārtika* with the commentary of Umbeka, Madras University edition, p. 3. Umbeka was a pupil of Kumārila.

41. The *Mahāli Sutta* (VI) and the *Jāliya sutta* (VII) in *Dīghanikāya* I, speak about *dehātmavāda*—the question is asked there whether the self is the body or something else.

42. See the essay '*Svabhāvavāda* or Indian Materialism in M. Hiriyanna, *Indian Philosophical Studies*, I, pp. 71-78. The paper was originally contributed to the fifth *Indian Philosophical Congress*, 1929. See also S. N. Dasgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. III pp. 519-531, for references to *dehātmavāda* in the Jaina *Sūtrakṛtāṅga Sūtra* (II. 1, 9-10) and the Vedic *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* II. 4. 12, IV. 5. 13, *Kaṭha* (I. 20), *Chāndogya* (VIII. 7-12) and *Maitrāyaṇīya* (VII. 8, 9) upaniṣads.

The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* tells us that the god Indra and the Asura Virocana went to Prajāpati for instruction. The Asura understood Prajāpati as teaching that the body is the self but the god could not accept that view. He was taught the true nature of the self and the other gods learnt the same doctrine. Professor Dasgupta has said with reference to this passage, "It shows that there was a race different from the Aryans, designated here as *asuras*, who dressed their bodies with fine cloths, adorned them with ornaments, provided them with food, so that when there was a

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in the Vedic and epic literatures but the *Lokāyata* system referred to in the Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist texts quoted above was a respectable system of philosophy, which could be placed by the side of Saṁkhya and Yoga as

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resurrection of these dead bodies they might with that food, cloths and ornaments prosper in the other world and it is these people who believed that the body was the only self". (p. 528). The professor has wholly misunderstood this passage. The *asuras* are not a people but demons, as the *devas* are gods and not another race of men. Throughout the *Brāhmaṇa* literature we have references to the gods possessing right knowledge and the demons not having it. In *Yasna* XXIX of the *Avesta* also we have similar ideas. The Professor has connected Virocana's view with that of the *Lokāyatas* or *Cārvākas*. His further statement "It seems, therefore, that probably the *Lokāyata* doctrines had their beginnings in the preceding Sumerian Civilization in the then prevailing customs of adorning the dead and the doctrine of bodily survival after death (p. 529)", is equally unfortunate. The preceeding civilization of the pre-Aryans of Mohenjodaro and Harappa was not at all Sumerian. The only connexion with Sumeria is the finding of some Harappan seals in Sumeria, evidently taken there in course of trade. The Sumerian civilization of Mesopotamia did not have the views ascribed to it by Dasgupta and we know nothing of the treatment of the dead body in the Harappan culture. D. P. Chattopadhyaya has been misled by Prof. Dasgupta in his *Lokāyata* and he has assumed that the *Lokāyata* system was the philosodhy of the Asura people. In the *Maitrāyaṇīya* passage referred to above we have mention of various anti-Vedic sects whose views anticipate some of the doctrines of the later *Cārvāka* system, though not naming it. A verse at the end of VII. 8 appears to have suggested Rāma's reference to the *Lokāyatas* in the interpolated speech in the *Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* referred to above.

Ānvīkṣakī as Kauṭilya has done.[43]

That Buddha was hostile to the *Lokāyata* view was due to his hostility to all speculations[44] and not due to any particular dislike for the teachings of this system. These philosophical speculations took man away from the true path (*areso atthaṅgikomaggo*), as he understood it.

Dr. Adityanatha Jha's complimentary remarks about the value of the *Lokāyata* system are therefore justified by these references in Brahmaṇical, Buddhist texts. The four *puruṣārthas* (ends of human endeavour) are the *artha* (material prosperity) and *kāma* (physical happiness), besides *dharma* (duty) and *mokṣa* (emancipation). The *Mānava Dharmaśāstra* has not negated *artha* and *kāma*. It has made them subservient to *dharma* and *moṣka*.

इहार्थ : परमार्थश्च समं सेव्यौ हितार्थिनः ।

अतृप्तः ऐहिके त्वर्थे परमार्थो हि दुर्लभः॥

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43. D. P. Chattopadhyaya's mistaken view that *ānvīkṣikī* meant logic (*Lokāyato*, p. 25) can be excused but Professor Dasgupta's statement "the name *Lokāyata* is fairly old. It is found in Kauṭilya's *Artha-Śāstra*, where it is counted with Sāṁkhya and Yoga as a logical science (*ānvīkṣikī*)" is unpardonable. The learned Professor has probably been misled by Vātsyāyana's claim that *Nyāya* alone is *Ānvikṣikī*, in the introduction of his commentary on the *Nyāya Sūtras*.

44. See Hermann Oldenberg, *Buddha* (English translation by W. Hoey, pp. 272 ff.)

THE ṚGVEDA-SAṂHITĀ-KĀRA'S "PALIMPSESTING" METHOD

Dr. A. ESTELLER*

In the course of a wide-ranging investigation of the old problem about the possible existence of an archaic *āi* dative ("*devai* vs. devāya") in the Ṛgveda[1] we have often come across some cases which, whatever the end-result-whether positive or negative-offer a good specimen of the method we have for many years propounded for the text-critical reconstruction of the original which lies behind and beyond the traditional form contained in the Saṃhitā, or-as we have systematically called it-the Saṃhitā-"Palimpsest" (=redactorially re-edited) of the Saṃhitā-Kāra (*SK*).

Before entering upon the particular case we have now in mind, let us recall the principles of our *romanising text-transcription*: the texts are transcribed practically in the padapāṭha style with the words separated and the vowel-saṃdhi dissolved; but if a vowel-saṃdhi is metrically demanded a + joins the words concerned. Diphthongs are restored to their archaic forms: *e=ai, o=au, ai=āi, āu=au*; but, if they are resolved into *two* syllables, a hyphen is inserted between the two vowels affected ("*tredhā-traidhā:tra-idhā*"). Long vowels are resolved into two syllables, if metrically demanded, *as ā=aa, ī=ii, ū=uu*. On the *right-hand margin* + means emendation,

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× means word-reshuffle formetrical resons. Text-emendations are *italicized*. The transcriptions ā, ī ū mean short vowels used by the kavis as if long, for a final rhythm specially *Grassm* (*ann*) *means his "worterbuch"*. And now let us come to our problem.

There is an intriguing and instructive case in VII, 21, which will help us to discover the method followed by the (*SK*) in constituting his text (VII, 21) :

(1-a) *asāvi daivam* (!) *gavṛjīkam andhaḥ* + (! ?)
(= " *daivāi* (!) " " + X(N.B.)
(=*asāvi indrāi* (!) " " +X
(b) *ni asmin indraḥ januṣā* (+īm ?) *uvauca* +
= *asmin indraḥ januṣā uvauca* +(?)
= *ni yaṣmin daivaḥ* (!) *januṣā uvauca* +X(NB)

The "īm" in 1b has all the characteristics of an *SK*'s redactorial hiatus-stopgap, as Grassmann (*s.v.*) specifically remarks with regard to this and to similar texts. For the archaic *non* saṃdhi in the emendated 1a too cf. IX, 62, 4a below. But the main problem is here posed by 1a with the word "daivam" which, as it stands, syntactically agrees with "*andhas*" in the *neutre* gender. But how surprising it strikes one that an indeterminate "*daivam*" should *head* the hymn, when "indr*āi* would make everything clear at once, and can be naturally *followed* (cf. VIII, 89 1ab vs. ed!) by a *thus* unequivocal "daivaḥ"! But does IX, 11, 2abc show that the kavis do so—trusting the context?—S. below! The SK's subterfuge to dodge the archiac "daiv*āi*" "indr*āi* could not be more transparent—as our reconstruction evidences abundantly above. (In 1b

"ni + yasmsn" *vs* the SK's haplology. His "uvauca" is from VII, 20, 4d!), Parallels also suggest that the original must have been an archaic *-āi* dative "indr*āi*" ("daiv*āi*"):

I, 84, 1a) asāvi saumah indra tai (!)

V, 43, 5a) asāvi tai (!) jujusānaya saumaḥ

X, 104, 1a) asavi saumaḥ puruhūta tubhyam (!)

Hence we could, it seems, expect above (since this kavi is perfectly metrical in *all* his 40 (!) pādas—*if* the *archaic* saṃdhis and pronunciation are duly restored! and "indrāya" ("daivaya") would be unmetrical *here*):

1*a*) asāvi daivāi gavṛjikam andhaḥ (?) +
= asaei *indrāi* „ „ + ! (N.B.)

This could appear all the more justified since the use of "daiva" in a quasi-adjectival sense and in the *neutre* gender, as applying to inanimate things, is rather rare — in the *SK*'s own text! - cf. Grassmann. *s.v.* - Yet (it could be objected) the dative of the deity to whom Soma is offered is not invariably essential, cf.:

IX, 62, 4*a*) asavi aṃśuḥ madāya (*trochaic*!)
(cf. VII, 21, 1a)
b) apsu dakṣaḥ giriṣth*aa*ḥ (*iambic*)! +

82, 1*a*) asāvi saumaḥ aruṣaḥ vṛṣa hariḥ

b) rāja + iva dasma abhi gaḥ acikradat

27, 5*c*) asavi mitraḥ vṛjanaiṣu yajñiyaḥ

d) athyaḥ na yūthai vṛṣayuḥ kanikradat

And, on the other hand, the use of the neutre "*daivam*" i. (apparently only! - as the *SK*'s *compulsive* pseudo. confirmation!) paralleled by the special texts-

adduced by Grassm. (s. *v.*) : I, 164, 18d (where though, "*daivaṃ manaḥ*" is really the *archaic* "*daivāṃ manaḥ*" *s. v. ibid. s.v.*) and more especially in another three texts, *all* of whom need emendation or an entirely different explanation (together with I, 164, 18 above =first case, *esmgselling* the *SK* to *contrive* further confirmation).— The first "confirmation" was the *ŚK*'s VII, 2, lab, us we saw. The *second* is :

VIII, 89, 1c) *yaina jyautiḥ ajanayan ṛtāvṛdhaḥ*

(=adjective!)

d) *daivam* (!) *daivāya jāgṛvi* (N.B.) (?)

=*daivāḥ* (!) *daivāya jāgṛvi* ("*daivāḥ*"

=noun !) N.B.+ !

The *SK* dodges the *śruti* : "*daivādaivāya*" (like "*daivā*+*ādaivāsya*") :

IX, 11, 2a) abhi tai madhunā payaḥ (!)

!c) *daivaṃ daivāya daivayu* (N.B.)

=*daiva* (!) *daivāya daivayu* (*vocat.*!) +

!b) *atharvāṇaḥ aśiśrāyuḥ* (1 2)

= „ *aśiśriyuḥ* +

Here the kavi's pāda-order has been perversely upset by the *SK* in order to keep the word-play—"camatkāra" for the stanza-*end*! But in this *third* of the SK's pseudo-confirmations the voc. "*daiva*" is essential for "*tai*" in this *first* direct address to Soma! (q. v.). And "daivâya" is senseless (which "daivai"?). Only "*daivaibhyah*"! fits!. Now here it is to be noted that the fourth such text listed by Grassmann is completely misunderstood *by him* (not by the *SK* – for once!) in this respect (s. v. "*daivam*" neutre, q. v.) :

I, 128, 2f) *yaṃ* (!) *mātariśvā manavai parāvataḥ* (N.B.)

g) *daivaṃ* (!) *bhaaḥ parāvatḥ* (= "*Agnim*" !) (N. B.) +

Here clearly "*daivam*" is masculine and refers to Agni, while "*bhaaḥ*" is not a neutre noun, but the s-aorist (not the root-aorist) of the root "*bhṛ*" in the 3rd. p. sing., as Grassm. himself (contradictingly!) shows under "*bhṛ*" (q. v.). The kavi has purposely avoided using the augmented form "*abhāḥ*" in order to eschew the faulty initial rhythm that this would entail – which is also why the SK does not add the augment to the "faulty" pāda. The archaic resolved "*bhaaḥ*" gives to the kavi perfect metre and rhythm—where the *SK* sees an "*ārṣa*" (faulty) pāda! This long-vowel resolution (cf. IX, 62, 4b above) is of the well-known type represented by the genitive plural "*janānaam*" but also by other similar cases of verbs and other forms :

IX, 21, 5c) *yaḥ asmabhyam arāvaa* N.B. +

IX, 18, 1a *pari suvānaḥ giriṣṭhāḥ* (!?)

= " *svānaḥ giriṣṭhaaḥ* (N.B.) +

b) *pavitrai saumaḥ askṣaaḥ* (*N.B.*) +

7a) *sa śuṣmī kalaśaiṣu ā* (?) +

b) *punānaḥ acikradat* (!?)

= a) *aisa śusmiy acikṛadat* (*N. B.*) + X!

= b) *punānaḥ kalaśaiṣu ā* (*N. B.*) + X!

There is a thinkable possibility of a vowel-resolution in "*śumṣmit*", but the fact that a vowel follows would make it into a saṃdhi :

"*śūṣmiy ā—*" (cf. IX, 27, 6a; 28, 6a below) and leave the *SK*'s pāda hypometric. Hence the above solution is alone right.

The emendation "*aiṣa*" (vs. "sa") and the word-transposition *between pādas* are peremptorily demanded by the verse-pattern, which this kavi keeps irreproachably in *all* his other 20 padas without a flaw (with archaic orthoepy in lab especially, cf. above). The parallels indicating the original text are decisive :

IX, 8, 6a) *punānaḥ kālaśaiṣu ā* +

27, 7a) *aiṣa śuṣmiy asiṣyadat* (cf. IX, 28, 6a!) +

cf. VII, 20, 9a) *aiṣa stanmaḥ acikradat vṛsā tai*

(cf. IX, 82, lab)

But in this parallel text (IX, 27, 7a) the context forbade the *SK* to change "*aiṣa*" into "*sa*" because *all* the other stanzas in the hymn (as well as in IX, 28, its twin-parallel) begin with "*aiṣa*" also, and *all* would be made unmetrical by the change! But in our case (above) the *SK* sees his way to make the first (prominent!) pāda —pair "metrical" (or, better, "ārsa"-symonstrical!) by transposing "*kalaśaisu ā*" for *him* "*kalaṣisia+ā*"!) from the *second* pāda, leaving *both* short by one syllable which he does not mind, since for *him* lab (cf. above!) are also "ārṣa"—) hypometrical by one syllable. He does that, surely from the point of view of easier memorising (besides variety) in order to keep the characteristic pāda "*aiṣa śuṣmiy asiṣyadat*" for the hymn (IX,2y) with the "*aiṣa-*" initial stanzas, and yet distinguish from it the too closely similar pada in 18,7a: "*aiṣa śuṣmiy acikradat*" that could easily confuse the memoriser-while the other parallel in the adjoining twin "*eṣa-*"-hymn (IX,28) is more different and distinguishable "*aiṣa śuṣmiy adābhiyaḥ.*" But if the SK wanted to

differentiate the pāda IX,18,7a by transferring to it "*kalaśaiṣū ā*" he *had* necessarily to change "*eṣa*" into his "sa", since otherwise he would, as said above, get an *hyper*metric pāda or, rather, a non-"āsiśa metrial pāda (vs. 761) (and this shows that at this stage "*kalaśaiṣu ā*" was already pronounced *with kṣaipra* !)—while he did not mind an "arṣa" *hypo*metric one in 7a or 7b, since, as we said, for *him* the kavi's lab were also "areṣa"- hypometric, considering that the SK did not recognise the vowel-resolutions: *giriṣṭhaaḥ, akṣaaḥ*". Further, note that in differentiating IX,18,7a from 27,7a the SK also diversifies IX,18,7b from its twin IX,8,6a (cf. above), even though metrically ruining the former.

Summing up: we see on the one hand that in our first problem-text, VII,21,1a, the *SK's* text, in spite of apparently plausible parallels to the contrary, does *not* preserve the original kavi's text and offers more than sufficient grounds for an emendation that definitely *does* resuscitate an archaic-*āi* dative. The parallels that back this conclusion (and do away with Grāssmann's (+*SK's*) *neutre-adj.* "*daiva*"!) are clearly convincing. They show how important the through comparison of similar texts is in the text-critical study and reconstruction of the original *Ṛgveda*. This is brought out by the other cases above too. On the other hand, our second problems-text IX,18,1ab, besides the value of a parallel, brings out glarngly some of the essential characteristics of the *SK's* redactorial-palimpsesting method. First of all his *substituting* technique: putting an equivalent "*sa*" in place of the original "*aiṣa*"—which makes it natural to accept that he *would* replace an archaic—*ai* dative by a

tiation or compulsive *pseudo-confirmation* (as in the case of the chief texts in this paper—starting from I,164,18d),

Any other approach must be banned as unhistorico–philological, unscholarly and unrealistic as well as opprobrious to the Ṛṣi-kavis.

Thus the leading principle of *Ṛgveda* text-criticism and text-reconstruction can be summarised as : the *paramountcy of metre, archaism and critical parallelism over the traditional SK*'s *Saṃhitā Palimpsest.*

Hence the ṛṣi-kavis had actually said-*contra* the SK's text :

I,164,18 d) daivām manaḥ. kuthḥ adhi porajatam (1st. case) !) +

VII,21 1,a) asācris indrai gav- ṛjikam andhaḥ (2nd.! = confirm) +X!

b) ni asmin daivaḥ januṣā ūvuca +X !

VIII,89,1c) yaina jyautiḥ ajanayanov ṛtāoṛdhaḥ

d) daivāḥ daivāya jāgṛeri 3rd.! = confirm.) +X !

IX;11,2 a) abhi tai resadhunā payaḥ. +X !

e) daivaibhyaḥs daiva deivayu +X !

f) atharurāṇaḥ aśiśniyaḥ +

I,128,2 f) yaṃ (:) mātaaśvā manavi parāvataḥ

g) daivaṃ (1) bhaaḥ parāvataḥ gṛassṃs' ereor ! !+

IX,18,7 a) aisa śusmiy acikvardat +X !

h) punānaḥ kalaśaiṣu ā +X !

SOME VEDIC SURVIVALS

REPORT ON RESEARCH DONE IN INDIA

DEC. 1970—MARCH 1971

A. I. I. S. GRANT

Since the American Institute of Indian Studies does not provide fellows with any equipment and the University of California was at the time of my departure suffering from one of its many recent financial crises, I experienced difficulties in connection with equipment which should be mentioned at the outset of this brief report. I could not obtain any photographic or filming equipment beyond my own old camera. I had no equipment for microfilming, and it turned out that I had been wrong in supposing that such equipment could be obtained or borrowed in South India (at least in Madras, Adyar, or at the Sarswati Mahal Library, Tanjore). I had to sacrifice one of the three properties a tape recorder should have in order to properly do the work for which I needed it: it should be of good quality, be usable with batteries and be usable with the local electric current. Having sacrificed the last (for the Vedas are preserved in inaccessible places), I had nothing but trouble in connection with batteries throughout my trip. The expensive NiCad batteries bought in the U. S. and allegedly lasting throughout my trip were useless; but worse than that, it took me a long time to realize this, so that innumerable experts

fiddled around with them, and at least one recording was spoilt. In India, on the other hand, batteries are often empty, half-empty, leaking (also when leak-proof), or, worst of all, unobtainable.

My itinerary was prepared in the U. S. and some of its ways were paved by earlier correspondence. Letter writing continued throughout my journey, getting more and more involved on account of my constantly changing addresses. Most of the work I did was possible only because of my earlier contacts. This time again many scholars helped me with recommendations. I should especially mention the following:

Dr. K. Kushalappa Gowda, Annamalainagar.

Dr. S. D. joshi, Poona.

Dr. C. G. Kashikar, Poona.

Sri Madamp Narayanan Nambudiri, Vadakkancheri.

Dr. V. Raghavan, Madras.

Dr. K. Kunjunni Raja, Madras.

Dr. R. Ramchandran, Annamalainagar.

Dr. E. R. Sreekrishna Sarma, Tirupati.

Sri B. V. K. Sastry, Bangalore.

Agnihotram Ramanujam Tatacharya, Kumbakonam.

Dr. C. S. Venkateswaran, Annamalainagar.

H. Ḥ. the Śaṅkarācarya of Śṛṅgeri.

Some of these scholars initiated chains of recommendations generally issuing in at least one expert Vaidika, who often in due course recommended others.

On arriving in Madras in December 1970, I bought a motorcycle (1968 Royal Enfield "Bullet") which was an ideal companion in the field and which enabled me to go practically anywhere. Next to padayātrā, which is too time-consuming, this seems to be the best way to see much of India. The tape recorder was put in a bag thickly lined with foam rubber, placed in turn in an aluminum box fixed at the rear of the bike, Though the speedometer was one of the parts that did not work, I estimate that I covered not less than 4,000 km. on the machine. My main contacts were orthodox brahmans and motor mechanics. But I got involved in many other things, e.g., temple festivals, dance performances, political demonstrations, students strikes, which are outside the scope of this report.

The month of January was spent in Tamilnad with headquarters at the Annamalai University, where I was a visiting Professor of Linguistics (without salary) at the Centre for Advanced Study in Linguistics. Through its location and prestige, this position was helpful in exploring the Vedic situation in the surrounding districts. I visited centres such as Kumbakonam, Tanjore, Srirangam, Madurai and many smaller towns. Most of February was spent in Kerala, travelling all over and visiting numerous villages in former Malabar, Cochin and Travancore. My headquarters were in the home of my old friend the advocate Madamp Narayanan Nambudiri at Vadakkan cheri, Cochin. After Kerala, my itinerary took me through South and North Kanara, Goa and via Bangalore, Tirupati and Nellore back to Madras again. There I sold the Bullet in March 1971 and travelled to Varanasi

by train. Many valuable days of this last part of my journey were lost because of this and other delays, due to the Indian Airlines' lockout.

The following is a brief resume of my main recordings and findings. In Tamilnad I had two principal results, one positive and one negative. The positive result was the recording of specimens of the rare Jaiminīya Sāmaveda at Srirangam, where a small Jaiminīya school has now been established with five pupils from the four villages in the distant corners of Tamilnad where this śākhā had survived. The establishment of this school, largely due to the initiative of Dr. V. Raghavan and Agnihotram Ramanujam Tatacharaya, constitutes a very laudable attempt at retaining and reviving a tradition which some ten yesrs ago was an the verge of extinction. I hope that this example will be followed in other parts of India where a similar situation prevails.

The negative results was that the foremost performer of somayāga rituals in Tamilnad, with whom I have been in contact for several years, finally consented to have recordings made of the most important and characteristic recitations of the Agniṣṭoma in *hautram, audgātram, ādhvaryavam* and *brahmatvam*. However, he demanded a *dakṣiṇā* of Rs. 3000/- for the triumvirate of Hotā, Udgātā and Adhvaryu, and I decided that I did not want to be responsible to that extent for *vedavikrayapāpa* incurred by others.

In Kerala my main results were three, of which the first may be considered the most important. Since Dr. Asko Parpola and I, and now perhaps also Dr. E. R. Sreekrishna Sarma, are planning an edition of the Jaimi-

nīya ganas, I spent a lot of time hunting for manuscripts and recordings. In Tamilnad outside Srirangam a manuscript seems to exist, but I could go no further than establish its reputation. In Kerala, the only manuscripts of the entire corpus (*saṃhitā, grāmageyagāna, araṇyageya-gāna, ūhagāna* and *rahasyagāna*) I came across are the numerous notebooks of Sri M. Itti Ravi Nambudiri of Panjal, which are not copies of other manuscripts, but are based upon the oral tradition and have been checked in part. I made arrangements for these to be microfilmed by Dr. Parpola, and at the time I am writing this Dr. Parpola (whom I met only after my return to Madras) has probably already completed this job.

Since Dr. Sreekrishna Sarma had already recorded the complete Jaiminīya *saṃhitā* (12 hours), *grāmageyagāna* (34 hours) and *āraṇyageyagāna* (30 hours), I recorded whatever I could of the ūha and *rahasyagāna* (the latter is called *ūṣāṇi* by the Nambudiris, who use the term *rahasyam* to refer to intercourse with someone else's wife). Three sāmavedins who knew these portions had died in the last five years. I obtained from Sri Itti Ravi (now 67 years old) a part of the *ūhagāna*, most of the *rahasya-gānā* and the *prastāva's* of the rest of the *rahasyagāna*. No other Nambudiri sāmaga seemed to know more of the *rahasyagāna*. The remaining part of the *ūhagāna* was known by another vaidika, an Akkitiri (i. e., a Nambudiri who has performed the *atirātra-agnicayana*). Though unwilling five years ago to have anything to do with tape recording, the Akkitiri, apparently also alarmed by the impending danger of extinction, was now willing to chant for the tape recorder provided it was operated by

a Nambudiri. Sri Itti Ravi himself volunteered to perform this service and was within an incredibly short time completely at home with my machine. But since the *ūhagāna* appears to last some 70 hours, and Akkitiri was prevented by death pollution from doing much there were large delays during which I was not able to make much use of my tape recorder elsewhere.

After much time had passed in this fashion, I decided to purchase a tape recorder and tapes in Cochin, and present these to Sri Itti Ravi as a kind of *dakṣiṇā*, with the understanding that he would finish as much of the job as the supply of tapes permitted, and then give the tapes to Dr. Parpola or send them to me. The *ūhagāna* recordings are therefore continuing while I am writing this. In the near future copies will have to be made of these and of Dr. Sreekrishna Sarma's recordings, so that the three of us can have access to these materials when editing the gānas. Much later, when I stayed with Dr. Sreekrishna Sarma in Tirupati, he made in fact a complete copy of my *rahasyagāna* recordings.

In the course of these recordings I obtained a lot of information on the Nambudiri Jaiminīya Sāmaveda. The *śrauta* situation was also discussed at length. It seems practically certain that the final Nambudiri somayāga (an agniṣṭoma), after a tradition of thousands of years, was performed in 1969. A variety of reasons, including the following two, may account for this. Sāmavedins are exceedingly rare and the number of experts available for *audgātra*, including Itti Ravi and Akkitiri, is now dangerously close to the required minimum of four. All are fairly old. The other reason is recent

legislation. One of the incentives for a prospective *yajamānā* used to be that every Somayājī became a member of a small club, whose members shared the benefits from the land revenue of two temples. But a bill has now been passed by the Kerala Government which prevents such acquisitions. Sri Itti Ravi Nambudiri and I discussed the possibility of one final performance in the near future of a somayāga, preferably the *atirātra-agnicayana*. This would have to be financed by foreign sources (the expenditure is of the order of Rs. 30,000/-or Rs. 40,000/-) and in return for such assistance there should be facilities for the performance to be fully studied, documented, photographed, filmed and tape recorded. Sri Itti Ravi promised to explore this possibility among the Nambudiri Vaidikas and I promised to make the equally arduous attempt to obtain the required funds. It may be safely assumed that a number of scholars in India (e. g. C. G. Kashikar, V. Raghavan, E. R. Sreekrishna Sarma) as well as abroad (e. g., J. E. B. Gray, J. C. Heesterman, A. Parpola) would be interested in such an undertaking.

The other two main activities I engaged in while in kerala relate to the yajurveda. I made several unsuccessful attempts to locate traditions, information and/or manuscripts of the extremely rare Bādhūlaka Taittirīyakas. Though brahmans belonging to this sūtra were found, they belonged to the large majority of Nambudiris who have lost most or all of their vedic culture. It is instructive to experience how in a single Nambudiri home many heterogeneous elements may co-exist. Typically, the old father is engaged in recita-

tion, ritual and puja, which become especially demanding and time consuming when the family priest has left or passed away. Members of the second generation are engaged in some more lucrative occupation, often connected with education or technology. Members of the second and third generation are busy with politics (especially prior to the election of March 1971), often of a progressive or revolutionary nature. Children, finally, are running around in their white or red *kaupīnas*, with or without a sacred thread, depending on the prevailing force in the household. For me, the conflict between orthodoxy and hospitality would make eating and bathing the most unpredictable experiences. At times I might eat inside the kitchen together with the *pater familias*, or even bathe in the family tank; at other times, I bathed somewhere outside and ate on the veranda with youngsters or alone.

In the course of these experiences and Bādhūla investigations I came across numerous other interesting things. I was again impressed by the abundance of manuscripts in Nambudiri houses, and the wealth of topics treated therein, such as tantra (e. g., commentaries on the *Tantrasamuccaya*), *itihāsa*, *kāvya*, *vyākaraṇa*, *śrauta* and *gṛhyā* (e. g., *prāyaścitta*), etc. I also saw, for the first time, numerous bronze images as they are being worshipped on the Nambudiri house altars. Many have unmistakeably Chera features. Rare forms, or forms not usually met with in the Chola country abound. I saw, for example, Āvāntika Viṣṇu (Viṣṇu with Lakṣmī in the palm of his hand), forms of Gaṇapati with a

consort on his left knee, and forms of Balakṛṣṇa standing with a headgear resembling Egyptian sculpture and not in the form of the more common peacock crown. Of all of this little appears to be known to the outside world, and there is scope for much research in the area of Kerala Tantrism (which seems to have little in common with the more well-known traditions found in Northeast India), house and temple worship, Chera bronzes and iconography.

My final attempt to find Bādhūla manuscripts was successful. There is a large collection of manuscripts in the Irinjalakuda house of the Tantri of the famous padmanābha temple at Trivandrum, Nedumpilly Tharananallur Govindaru Nambudiripad. The old Tantri, himself a Bādhūlaka and the author of several books in Sanskrit (dealing with ritual purity as well as religious hymns), was ill. All the same, he issued orders that the Bādhūla manuscripts be extracted from the collection and shown to me. These manuscripts included a *Somayāgaprayoga*, a *śrautaprayoga*, a *śrautakalpāgama saṃgraha*, a *Bādhūlakaprayogavṛtti*, etc.

That I was enabled to look at these manuscripts, presented with copies of the Tantri's books and permitted to make recordings of the Irinjalakuda style of chanting Yajurveda in this very orthodox manor, was due not only to the fact that I was accompanied by Sri Madamp Narayanan and other influential Nambudiri Yajurvedins, but also to the fact that I seemed to be the second visitor specifically interested in Bādhūla. The first, some half a century ago but still freshly remembered, was the emissary of the then Government who obtained the

manuscript from which the fragments of the *Vādhūlaśrautasūtra* were in due course published by Caland. All the same, my handling of the manuscripts was not really relished, and it was suggested that a *brāhmaṇa* would be a more proper person to perform such a task. My suggestion that another visit might be made by Dr. Sreekrishna Sarma was eagerly welcomed. In the mean time Dr. Sarma has agreed to do this and I look forward to the results.

The third main activity I engaged in Kerala (not to mention the recording of non-vedic Sanskrit, e. g., Chakkyarkuttu) was the study of Yajurveda as recited at the Northernmost Nambudiri centers, Talipparamba and payyannur. I had been told that the recitation here was simpler than elsewhere (viz., in the Irinjalakuda and Parumanam styles of Nambudiri Yajurveda chant). I therefore hoped to find an older form of Yajurveda recitation and/or a missing link between Nambudiri and non-Nambudiri recitation. But My findings, though not yet fully analyzed, do not seem to point in either direction. If this is correct, the relationship between the Nambudiri Veda recitation and all other forms of Veda recitation in India remains shrouded in mystery.

One isolated discovery in Kerala may be mentioned last: that of a Śukla Yajurveda village of *paradeśī*, i. e., Tamil brahmans. In this village, Venganellur near Chelakkara, I made excellent recordings from the only surviving vaidika. This recitation turned out to be of the same type as that found in the few Śukla Yajurveda villages of Tamilnad. One of its

characteristics is based upon what I believe to be an old mistake: the horizontal stroke under some syllables used in some manuscripts of the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* is interpreted and chanted as an *anudātta*. Another feature of the South India Śukla-Yajurveda is that all of its followers claim to belong to the Káṅva śākhā. Since the Mādhyandina śākhā is considered less pure in these parts, I have some reasons to doubt that this ascription is always true. The problem can only be solved when these recitations are subjected to closer analysis.

In western Mysore many recordings were made in Gokarna, a veritable storehouse of Vedic learning (especially associated with śráddha, as is well known) with three *agnihotrins* within the town limits. Two of the latter were interviewed and recorded. Portions of a *Darśapūrṇamāsa* and beautiful śastra along with a *nyūṅkha śastra* from *Āptoryāma*, as well as a portion of the *Aitareyabrāhmaṇa*, were all recorded from the *Ā*śvalāyana vaidika Joglekar family, of Maharashtrian origin. The *ādhvaryava* was recorded from a Havik Baudhāyana, and *audgātaa* from a Havik Rāṇāyanīya sāmaga. Priest of the Karekal temple on a hill top outside Honawar village. I also heard Havik Ṛgveda. Since I once overheard a remark to the effect that the Haviks might have descended from the Nambudiris, I was much interested in hearing their recitation. But the style turned out to be basically of the same type as that found all over Tamilnad, Andhra and Mysore (including south Kanara). The Nambudiri tradition therefore continues to stand isolated in India as had been argued in my book *Nambudiri Veda Recitation*,

I inspected the three fire altars of the Baudhāyana *agnihotrin*, which were covered by closely fitting and beautifully made baskets. This vaidika performd an *agniṣṭoma* not many years ago. But nowadays performances beyond the *Darśapūrṇamāsa* are not longer carried out in the Gokarna area. Still, knowledge of the śrauta ritual among the vaidikas remains truly impressive. Here, too, the name Caland was known and the edition of the *Baudhāyanaśrautasūtra* was carefully kept.

After the filth of Gokarna's streets and lodgings—in special concentration immediately after Śivarātri—two days on the beautiful beaches of Goa constituted a pleasant though eerie interlude. No Vedic traditions there; the population consists to a larger extent than anywhere else of Westerns in Indian and Indians in Western dress. I could not suppress the feeling that it might also be easier among the hippies than elsewhere in India to find a real *avadhūta*.

In Bangalore I recorded more Śuklayajurveda, again of the same type as that found in Tamilnad and in Venganellur. In Nelloor, Andhra Pradesh, finally, I found Viśvanātha Śrautulu to be another vaidika of the same depth of expertise as the best Gokarna vaidikas. Himself an Āpastamba Taittirīyaka, he recited Hautram (in particular, *śastra*) and Audgātram (in particular, stotra) with equal ease. I was also impressed by the extent of the rightly famous but so far unrecorded Andhra tradition. Not only the seven *somasaṃsthā* continue to be performed (as in Tanjore District), but many *ahīna* sacrifices as well. There are some 50 *agnihotrins* in Andhra,

which is more than in Tamilnad and Kerala together, and compares well with Varanasi where there is only one. In Nelloore (as earlier) in Kumbakonam, Venganellur, Gokarna, Bangalore and other places) Sanskrit was the only medium of communication between the Vaidikas and myself.

In Nelloore, lastly, I was not only forced to take back my *dakṣṇā* (which was turned over to a Vedic school), but presented with garlands, *aṅgavastraṁs*, a Vedic manuscript, many other gifts and a public reception with Sanskrit speeches in the Veṇugopālasvāmī temple. I was asked only one small favour : to send a copy, or photocopy, of Caland's edition of the *Ārṣeyakalpa*.

Extinction is the grave danger that threatens the Vedic traditions of India. That I was able to obtain first-rate recordings from some of the best vaidikas, despite their strictness and orthodoxv, is due only to their increasing awareness of this threat. There are very few young vaidikas to be found anywhere. Each time one of the older vaidikas dies, a portion of the 3,000-year-old tradition is irretrievably lost. There are at present still many more treasures left than could be saved by the efforts of any single scholar. But in ten years the situation will be very much worse. and in 50 years there will surely be nothing left. Of course, good work of preservation is being done at some of the better academiccentrers (e.g.: Poona). But it is outside such centers, in villages and in smaller towns, that oral traditions survive without being affected by the written or printed word. The Śaṅkarācāryas, specially the Śaṅkarācārya of Kanchi-

puram, are contributing much by sponsoring Vedasammelanas and by awarding prizes to outstanding vaidikas. But unless very much more is done, both in intensity and in extent—perhaps at the level of the Central or State Governments—it will be too late.

Varanasi J. F. Staal

March 20, 1971

काव्यप्रकाशगतमङ्गलस्य शाब्दबोधविचारः

डा० गोपराजु राम

श्रीमदाचार्यमम्मटैः गीतिछन्दस्समुज्वलं निजनिर्मितमतिरमणीयमाशयराशि-समुल्लसितञ्च मङ्गलपद्यमेकं स्वकृतग्रन्थघटकतया स्वोद्देश्यपूर्त्तये शिष्यशिक्षायै च समुपनिवद्धमास्ते ।

नियतिकृतनियमरहितां ह्लादैकमयीमनन्यपरतन्त्राम् ।
नवरसरुचिरां निर्मितिमादधती भारती कवेर्जयति ॥[1]

इति ।

अस्यावतारिकाऽपि तैरेव प्रकाशिता वरीवर्ति । "ग्रन्थारम्भे विघ्नविघाताय समुचितेष्टदेवतां ग्रन्थकृत् परामृशति" ।[2] इति ।

मङ्गलस्येतिकर्तव्यता "समाप्तिकामो मङ्गलमाचरेत्" इति स्मृत्या "मङ्गला-दीनि हि शास्त्राणि प्रथन्ते वीरपुरुषाणि च भवन्त्यायुष्मत्पुरुषाणि चाध्येतारश्च सिद्धार्थाः स्युः"[3] इति महर्षिपतञ्जलिवचनाच्च बोध्यते । तच्च मङ्गलं कायिक-वाचिकमपि स्तुत्याशी-र्वस्तुभेदेन त्रिविधम् । तत्र प्रकृतमङ्गलं स्तुत्यात्मकमेव (नमस्कारात्मकमेव) । यतो हि मङ्गलकारिकास्थ 'जयति'पदेन नमस्क्रियैव ध्वन्यते । अतएव व्याख्यातं भीमसेनदीक्षितैः स्वटीकायां सुधासागर्याम् ।

"आशीर्नमस्क्रियावस्तुनिर्देशो वाऽपि तन्मुखमिति वृद्धवचनात् अलौकिक-व्यञ्जनावृत्तिमहिम्ना प्रणामात्मकमेव मङ्गलमावेदयन् स्तौति"[4] इति ।

किं च ग्रन्थकृतैवाग्रे वृत्तिग्रन्थे "जयत्यर्थेन नमस्कार आक्षिप्यत" इत्युक्तम् ।

अनुसन्धान-अधिकारी, गङ्गानाथ झा केन्द्रीय संस्कृत विद्यापीठम्, प्रयाग ।

१. काव्यप्रकाशः, कारिका, १ ।

२. काव्यप्रकाशः, कारिका, प्रथमगतावतारिका ।

३. महाभाष्यम्, अध्याय १, पाद १, आह्निक १ ।

४. काव्यप्रकाशः (सुधासागरीटीका सहितः), पृ० ४ ।

यदि नत्यात्मकादन्यजातीयकमिदं मङ्गलमभविष्यत् तर्हि प्रकारान्तरेणायं श्लोकोऽभविष्यत् ।

विभिन्नात्मकत्वे श्लोकाकारप्रदर्शनमिह विद्वद्विनोदाय क्रियते । तथाहि ।

वस्तुनिर्देशात्मकत्वमभविष्यत् चेत्—

"नियतिकृतनियमरहितां ह्लादैकमयी ह्यनन्यपरतन्त्रा ।
नवरसरुचिरा निर्मितिमादधती भारती कवेर्भवति ।।

इति निर्दिष्टोऽभविष्यत् ।

यद्याशीर्वादात्मकमेवाभविष्यत् तर्हि—

नियतिकृतनियमरहितां ह्लादैकमयीमनन्यपरतन्त्राम् ।
नवरसरुचिरां निर्मितिमादधती स्तात् कवेर्मुदे तव गीः ।।

इति निर्दिष्टोऽभविष्यत् ।

पूर्वाचार्यैरालङ्कारिकैर्यानि मङ्गलानि कृतानि तान्यपि प्रायेण नत्यात्मकान्येव । किन्तु तेषु किमपि वैलक्षण्यं न प्रतीयते । माम्मटमङ्गले तु बहुवैलक्षण्यमस्ति ।

तथाहि ।

न केनापि स्वपूर्ववर्त्याचार्येण प्रतिपाद्यविषयो मङ्गलाचरणद्वारा प्रतीतियोग्यः कृतः । कैश्चिदुक्तोऽपि अभिधयैव । न कविकमनीयया व्यञ्जनया । नापि कैश्चिदपि पूर्वाचार्यैः काव्यस्वरूपं मङ्गलपद्यादेव प्रकाशितम् । प्रकाशकृद्भिस्तु सुध्युपास्यव्यापारद्वारा काव्यस्वरूपमात्रं न, अपि तु काव्यरहस्यमपि निर्धारितम् ।

भारतीनमनौचित्यविचारः

एतत्पद्येन च कविभारतीं प्रति प्रणतोऽस्मीति भावः सूच्यते । यद्यपि "विघ्नविघातायेत्यवतरणिकास्थपदानुसारेण दुरितध्वंसस्यैव फलत्वेन निर्धारणात् तस्मै च स्मृत्याद्यनुबोधितगणपतिनतिरेव करणीया स्यात्तथापि तदग्रिमसमुचितेष्टदेवतापदेन भारत्या नमस्कारस्यैवौचित्यबोधनात्तत्तन्नमस्कार एव कृतः । भारती च इष्टा समुचिता चेति विशेषणद्वयविशिष्टा देवता । तस्या नमनेन प्रतिपाद्यविषयोपस्थापनपूर्वकसमापनक्षमतेह सिध्यति । गणेशादीन् विहाय भारत्या नमनेन सेष्टा देवतेति निर्विवादम् । एवं भूतायास्तस्या नमनम् ।

आदित्यस्य सदा पूजां तिलकं स्वामिनस्तथा।
महागणपतेश्चैव कुर्वन् सिद्धिमवाप्नुयात् ॥[५]

इत्यादिवचनैः शास्त्रसंमतम् । एतावता शाक्तोऽयं मम्मट इत्यपि वक्तुं शक्यते, स्वतिलकस्वामिभूताया भारत्याः कृते 'इष्टां' पदप्रयोगात् । इष्टा एव देवता तिलकस्वामिनी भवति । अत एव तस्या नमनं सिद्धिकरं भवतीति शास्त्रकारैरुक्तम् । यद्यपि सिद्धये आदित्यगणपत्योरपि नमनमावश्यकम् । तथाप्युपलक्षणविधया तयोर्नमनस्य सङ्ग्रहेण तदनुक्तावपि न न्यौंन्यम् । अथवा तिलकस्वामिनो देवस्य प्रधानत्वेन तन्नमने कृते तदितरानमनेऽपि प्रधाने कृतो यत्नः फलभाक् भवतीति न्यायेन सिद्धिलाभस्य निश्चितत्वात् । एवञ्च गणेशादीन् विहाय भारत्या नमनेन तस्या मम्मटेष्टदेवतात्वं तेन च मम्मटस्य शाक्तता सुव्यक्तैव भवति ।

मतभेदप्रदर्शनपूर्वको मङ्गलपद्यविचारः

मङ्गलपद्यस्थ "कवेः" पदस्य वाङ्निर्मित्या सहान्वयार्थक्रमानुसारेण इत्येको भारत्या शब्दक्रमानुसारेणेत्यपरे । तत्र प्रथममतानुसारेण ब्रह्मनिर्मित्यपेक्षया वाङ्निर्मितेरुत्कर्षोऽभिव्यज्यते । द्वितीयमतानुसारेण च ब्रह्मापेक्षया भारत्या उत्कृष्टतेति विवेकः । उभयथापि व्यतिरेकोऽभिव्यङ्ग्य एव । भारत्याः सर्वोत्कृष्टतासाधनपक्षे वाङ्निर्मितेर्वा तथात्वे परामृशतीति वृत्तिस्थपदस्य स्तौति स्मरतीति वार्थः । उत्कर्षवत्तया उत्कर्षव्याप्यवत्तया वा जानातीति तु नार्थः । अग्रिमवृत्तिस्थ जयतीत्यन्तस्य वाक्यस्य ज्ञाने तादात्म्येनान्वयासंभवात् । उत्कर्षवत्तया जानातीत्यर्थस्वीकारे व्याप्यव्यापकभावस्तदनुसारेण चानुमानाकारो निभालनीयो भवति । स चेत्थम् ।

कवेर्निर्मितिः सर्वोत्कर्षशालिनी, नियतिकृतनियमरहितत्वादिविशिष्टनिर्मितत्वात् यन्नैवं तन्नैवं यथा ब्रह्मनिर्मितिरिति प्रथमपक्षे ।

कवेर्भारती सर्वोत्कर्षशालिनी नियतिकृतनियमरहितत्वादिविशिष्टनिर्मितिरूपकाव्यकर्मकविहृदयाधिकरणकाधानकर्तृत्वात् इति द्वितीयपक्षे ।

अनेन च मङ्गलपद्येन नियतिकृतनियमरहितत्वादिविशिष्टनिर्मित्याधानकर्त्र्या भारत्याः कविसंबन्धिन्याः जयाश्रयता अभिधया बोध्यते । एवञ्च तादृशनिर्मितिकर्मकाधानकर्त्र्यभिन्ना कविभारतीकर्तृक उत्कर्षानुकूलो व्यापार इति शाब्दिकनये तादृशव्यापाराश्रया भारतीति तार्किकनये बोधः संपद्यते ।

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५. याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतिः, श्लोक २९४ ।

व्यञ्जनया च निकृष्टनिर्मित्यवधिकप्रकर्षवन्निर्मितिकर्तृत्वेन भारती जयतीति तात्पर्यार्थो बोध्यते। जयतिश्चात्र न पराभवार्थकः। किन्तूत्कर्षार्थक इत्युत्कर्षावधित्वेन विश्वमेव ब्रह्मा वा प्रतीयते। एवञ्चात्र व्यतिरेकालङ्कारो व्यङ्ग्यः।

तदाकारस्तु—

ब्रह्मापेक्षया भारत्यधिकेति। तत्रोपमेयमात्रस्य वाच्यत्वात् उपमानस्य तदाधिक्यस्य च जयतिनैव गम्यत्वात् वाचकशब्दाभावाच्च व्यतिरेकालङ्कारोऽत्र गम्यः। तथाहि। जयत्यर्थः उत्कर्षः। स च विशेषानुपादानात् सर्वप्रतियोगिको लभ्यत इति भारत्याः सर्वोत्कृष्टत्वं व्यज्यते। सर्वेषु पदार्थेषु ब्रह्माप्यागच्छति ग्रन्थकारश्च। एवञ्चैकसंबन्धिज्ञानमपरसंबन्धिस्मारकमिति न्यायबलान्निर्मितिविशेषणज्ञानाधीनोपस्थितोपमानकर्तृकनिष्टनिर्मित्या स्वकर्त्तुर्ब्रह्मण एवोपमानत्वेन निर्धारणम्। तदिदं—निर्धारणं नाविनाभावबलादपि तु समागूरणप्रक्रिययेति नाभिव्यञ्जने काचन बाधोदेति। अथवा ब्रह्मनिर्मितेरेवोपमानत्वमुपमेयत्वञ्च वाङ्निर्मितेः। सा च कविसंबन्धिनी। तथा सत्यपि शिल्पोत्कर्षे शिल्प्युत्कर्षस्यार्थसिद्धत्वनियमात् तद्वैपरीत्येन च ब्रह्मापकर्षः सिध्यत्येव। एवञ्चात्र स्फुटोऽलङ्कारध्वनिः। ग्रन्थकारस्यापि सर्वान्तर्गतत्वेन नतिरूपो वस्तुध्वनिरपि। भारत्यालम्बनकः स्तुत्यनुभावको हर्षादिसञ्चारिको भावध्वनिरप्यत्रास्तीति रसवस्त्वलङ्कारात्मना त्रिविधध्वनीनामप्यत्र संस्थितेरयमपि श्रीमदानन्दवर्धनाचार्य इव ध्वनिप्रस्थापनपरमाचार्य इति निर्विवादम्।

पक्षता

दुर्गाधर झा

महर्षि गौतम ने सर्वविध निःश्रेयस के जनक 'तत्त्वज्ञान' के लिये प्रमाणादि जिन सोलह पदार्थों का उल्लेख किया है, उनमें प्रमाण और प्रमेय के बाद ही 'संशय' का स्थान है। आत्म-शरीरार्थं बुद्ध्यादि द्वादशविध प्रमेयों में जो 'बुद्धि' स्वरूप 'प्रमेय' है उसके उपादान से ही बुद्ध्यात्मक 'संशय' का भी उपादान हो जाता है, 'संशय' का पृथगुल्लेख क्यों? इस प्रश्न का उत्तर देते हुये न्यायभाष्यकार वात्स्यायन ने....तत्र नानुपलब्धेऽर्थे न निर्णीतेऽर्थे न्यायः प्रवर्त्तते किं तर्हि ? संशयितेऽर्थे'। (न्या. भाष्य अ.१ आ. १ सूत्र. १ पृ. २१) यह वाक्य लिखा है। अर्थात् (१) सर्वथा अज्ञात पक्ष में किसी साध्य के साधन की प्रवृत्ति नहीं होती है, एवं (२) निर्णीतसाध्यक पक्ष में भी साध्य के साधन की प्रवृत्ति नहीं होती है। (३) किन्तु साध्य संशय से युक्त पक्ष में ही न्याय की प्रवृत्ति होती है। अतः संशय विशेष रूप से निर्णयात्मक तत्त्वज्ञान का उपयोगी है, इस लिये बुद्धि के अन्तर्गत सामान्य रूप से संशय का उल्लेख होते हुये भी संशय में तत्त्वज्ञान की अङ्गता रूप जो 'विशेष' है, उसको दिखाने के लिये ही सूत्र में संशय का पृथक् उल्लेख महर्षि ने किया है। जिसकी परिपुष्टि "विमृश्य पक्षप्रतिपक्षाभ्यामर्थावधारणं निर्णयः (न्या.सू.अ.१ आ.१ सू.४१) इस सूत्र के द्वारा महर्षि गौतम ने स्वयं स्वमुख से भी की है।

न्यायभाष्यकार के उक्त महावाक्य के दो खण्ड वाक्य प्रकृत में विचारणीय हैं (१) न निर्णीतेऽर्थे न्यायः प्रवर्त्तते। (२) संशयितेऽर्थे न्यायः प्रवर्त्तते। अर्थात् जिस लिये कि निर्णीत अर्थ में 'न्याय' की अनुमान की प्रवृत्ति नहीं होती है। अतः इससे यह व्यतिरेक सिद्ध होता है कि साध्य संशय के न रहने पर अनुमान की प्रवृत्ति नहीं होती है, फलतः अनुमिति नहीं होती है चूँकि साध्य का निर्णय स्वरूप साध्य की सिद्धि रहने पर साध्य की अनुमिति नहीं होती है, इस लिये समझते हैं कि साध्य का संशय अनुमिति का कारण है। संशय और निर्णय इन दोनों के परस्पर विरुद्ध होने के कारण साध्य निर्णय की स्थिति में पुनः तत्सिद्धि स्वरूप अनुमिति के अनुत्पाद का प्रयोजक संशय ही है।

यदि 'नानिर्णीतेऽर्थे न्यायः प्रवर्त्तते' इस वाक्य को प्रधान मानते है, 'किन्तु संशयितेऽर्थे' इस दूसरे वाक्य को उसका पूरक-मात्र मानें तो यह वाक्यार्थ

निष्पन्न होता है कि 'साध्य का निर्णय (अर्थात् साध्य की सिद्धि) के न रहने पर ही अनुमिति होती है। साध्य के निर्णय का अभाव साध्य संशय के रहने पर अवश्य रहता है। इस प्रकार साध्यनिर्णय स्वरूप प्रतिवन्ध के अपनयन द्वारा साध्य संशय को अनुमिति का कारण कहा जाता है।

किन्तु साध्य निर्णय का अभाव केवल साध्य संशय के रहने पर ही तो नहीं होता। उसके और भी प्रयोजक हो सकते हैं, जैसे कि अनुमिति की इच्छा, (सिषाधयिषा) इच्छा की योग्यता प्रभृति। किंवा सिद्धि उत उपयुक्त मनः-संयोगादि का अभाव।

इस वस्तुगति के अनुसार जो कोई साध्य-संशयादि को अनुमिति का कारण मानते हैं, उन्हें साध्य की अनुमिति से पहले साध्य संशय, किंवा अनुमिति की इच्छा (सिषाधयिषा) प्रभृति की सत्ता अवश्य माननी होगी। किन्तु ऐसा मानना संभव नहीं है, क्योंकि घनगर्जन से मेघानुमान स्थल में साध्य का संशय नहीं रहता। शब्द विशेष से व्याघ्रानुमान की इच्छा किसी को भी नहीं होती। इस लिये अनुमिति के पहिले संशयादि का नैयत्य असिद्ध है। सिद्धि के अभाव का नैयत्य ही सिद्ध है।

इन सभी बातों का ऊहापोह कर प्रतिभा के अवतार श्री गङ्गेशोपाध्याय ने साध्य निश्चय रूप सिद्धि के अभाव को ही अनुभिति का कारण मानकर संशयादि को अन्यथासिद्ध कहा है। सिद्धि का यह अभाव चाहे जिससे हो।

किन्तु मीमांसकगण 'अभाव' को कारण नहीं मानते अतः सिद्ध्यभाव भी अनुमिति का कारण नहीं हो सकता। इस लिये सिद्धि स्थल में अनुमित्यनुत्पाद के निर्वाह के लिये वे संशयादि भाव पदार्थों को ही कारण मानते हैं।

किन्तु उदयनाचार्य ने न्यायकुसुमाञ्जलि में अभाव को भी कार्य की तरह कारण भी माना है। जैसे कि प्रायश्चित्त स्वरूप भाव पदार्थ से पापाभाव स्वरूप कार्य का मानना आवश्यक है, उसी प्रकार संध्यावन्दनादि विहित कर्मों के अननुष्ठान (अनुष्ठानाभाव) से प्रत्यवाय स्वरूप भाव पदार्थ की भी उत्पत्ति होती है। अतः 'अभाव कारण न हो' यह पक्ष ठीक नहीं है।

इसी दृष्टि के अनुसार तत्त्वचिन्तामणिकार ने संशयादि के पक्षतात्व का खण्डन कर सिद्धि के अभाव को ही 'पक्षता' माना है।

किन्तु सभी सिद्धियां अनुमिति की विरोधिनी नहीं होतीं। 'श्रोतव्यो मन्तव्यो निदिध्यासितव्यः' इत्यादि श्रुतियों के द्वारा आत्मा के श्रवण स्वरूप सिद्धि के बाद

अनुमिति स्वरूप मनन का निर्देश किया गया है। एवं महर्षि गोतम ने 'इच्छाद्वेष-प्रयत्नान्यात्मनो लिङ्गम्' इस सूत्र के द्वारा आत्मा के अनेक लिङ्गों के द्वारा अनेक अनुमानों का उल्लेख किया है। इस लिये यह मानना पड़ेगा कि विशेप प्रकार की अनुमितीच्छा के रहने पर सिद्धि के रहने पर भी अनुमिति होती है। इसी स्थिति का उल्लेख श्री वाचस्पति मिश्र ने तात्पर्य टीका में 'प्रत्यक्ष-परिकलितमप्यर्थमनुमानेन बुभुत्सन्ते तर्करसिकाः' इस वाक्य के द्वारा किया है। एवं विशेप प्रकार की इच्छा रूप सिषाधयिषा के न रहने पर परामर्शादि अन्य सभी कारणों के रहते हुये भी अनुमिति नहीं होती है। इसी स्थिति को तात्पर्य टीकाकार ने 'न हि करिणि दृष्टे चीत्कारेण तमनुमिमते' इस वाक्य के द्वारा स्पष्ट किया है।

कहने का तात्पर्य है कि सिद्धि अनुमिति का प्रतिबन्धक है। सिद्धि का अभाव प्रतिबन्धकाभाव मुद्रया अनुमिति का कारण है। किन्तु सिद्धि में जो अनुमिति की प्रतिबन्धकता है उसमें सिषाधयिषा को 'उत्तेजक' मानना होगा। प्रतिबन्धक की कार्य प्रतिरोधक शक्ति को अक्षम बना कर सामान्य कारणों से प्रतिबन्धक सत्त्व दशा में भी जो कार्योत्पादन का सहायक हो उसे 'उत्तेजक' कहते हैं। इस वस्तु स्थिति के अनुसार सिषाधयिषा स्वरूप उत्तेजक के अभाव से युक्त सिद्धि ही अनुमिति का प्रतिबन्धक है, केवल सिद्धि अनुमिति का प्रतिबन्धक नहीं है, क्योंकि सिषाधयिषा के साथ रहने वाली सिद्धि के रहते हुये भी अनुमिति की उत्पत्ति होती है। तदनुसार सिषाधयिषा विरह (अभाव) विशिष्टा जो सिद्धि वह है अनुमिति का प्रतिबन्धक, उसका अभाव ही अनुमिति का कारण है। इस बात को ध्यान में रखकर ही 'सिषाधयिषा-विरह-विशिष्ट-सिद्ध्यभावः पक्षता' पक्षता के इस प्रसिद्ध लक्षण को समझना चाहिये।

(१) केवल सिद्धि के रहने पर परामर्शादि अन्य सभी कारणों के रहते हुये भी अनुमिति नहीं होती है (२) सिषाधयिषा और सिद्धि दोनों के रहते हुये परामर्शादि अन्य सभी कारणों के रहते हुये अनुमिति होती है। (३) सिद्धि और सिषाधयिषा दोनों में से किसी के भी न रहने पर परामर्शादि अन्य सभी कारणों के रहने पर अनुमिति होती है।

(१) इनमें प्रथम स्थिति के पक्षता का संवलन न रहने से अनुमिति नहीं होती है। क्योंकि उक्त स्थल में जो सिद्धि है उसमें सिषाधयिषा का वैशिष्ट्य नहीं है। इस लिये यह सिद्धि अनुमिति का प्रतिबन्धक है, इस लिये अनुमिति नहीं होती है। अथवा यों कह लीजिये प्रतिबन्धकीभूत सिषाधयिषा के अभाव से युक्त सिद्धि का अभाव रूप (पक्षतात्मक) कारण के न रहने से अनुमिति नहीं होती है।

(२) दूसरी स्थिति में पक्षता स्वरूप कारण का संवलन संभव है, इस लिये अनुमिति होती है। यद्यपि सिद्धि वही है, किन्तु सिषाधयिषा भी है, अतः उस सिद्धि में सिषाधयिषा विरह स्वरूप प्रतिबन्धकतावच्छेदक धर्म नहीं है। इस लिये इस सिद्धि के द्वारा अनुमिति का प्रतिरोध संभव न होने से परामर्शादि अन्य कारणों के संवलन होने पर अनुमिति होगी। सिद्धि के रहने पर भी उसमें विशेषणीभूत सिषाधयिषाऽभाव के न रहने से (फलतः सिषाधयिषा के रहने से) सिषाधयिषा-विरह-विशिष्ट-सिद्धि-स्वरूप (विशिष्ट) का अभाव रहता है। विशेष्य के रहने से भी उसमें विशेषण के न रहने से विशेषण-विशिष्ट' का अभाव 'शिखी विनष्टः पुरुषो न नष्टः' इत्यादि व्यवहारों से सिद्ध है। इसे विशेषणाभाव-प्रयुक्त-विशिष्टाभाव कहते हैं।

(३) तीसरी स्थिति में किसी भी प्रकार की सिद्धि नहीं है, अतः सिषाधयिषा विरह से युक्त सिद्धि भी नहीं है। इस लिये कथित विशिष्ट सिद्धि के अभाव के रहने में कोई बाधा नहीं है, अतः परामर्शादि अन्य सभी कारणों के रहने पर अनुमिति होती है। इस स्थिति में विशेष्य-स्वरूप-सिद्धि के अभाव प्रयुक्त ही सिषाधयिषा-विरह विशिष्ट के अभाव-स्वरूप पक्षता का संवलन होता है।

'पक्षता' शब्द 'तल्' प्रत्यय के द्वारा निष्पन्न है, तदनुसार 'पक्षता' को पक्ष में रहना चाहिये। सिद्धि का अभाव पर्वतादि पक्षों में सर्वदा ही रहेगा, क्योंकि सिद्धि है आत्मा का धर्म, अतः उसका अभाव आत्मा से भिन्न सभी पक्षों में सर्वदा रहेगा, अतः आत्मा में पर्वत-पक्षक सिद्धि के रहते हुये भी सर्वदा पक्षता का संवलन होने से पक्षता को अनुमिति का कारण मानना ही व्यर्थ हो जायगा। इस लिये 'पक्षता' और अनुमिति के कार्य-कारण-भाव नियामक सम्बन्ध के प्रसङ्ग की आलोचना अपेक्षित है।

जिस प्रकार ज्ञान समवाय सम्बन्ध से आत्मा में उत्पन्न होता है, उसी प्रकार विषयता सम्बन्ध से अपने विषयों में भी उत्पन्न होता है। समवायि देश से भिन्न देशों में भी कार्य की उत्पत्ति की प्रतीति 'कुलालगेहे घट उत्पद्यते' हिमालये महोषध्यः समुत्पद्यन्ते' इत्यादि स्थलों में होती है। इस वस्तुस्थिति के अनुसार 'पर्वतो वह्निमान्' यह अनुमिति जिस प्रकार समवाय सम्बन्ध से आत्मा में उत्पन्न होती है, उसी प्रकार विषयता सम्बन्ध से पर्वतादि विषयों में भी उत्पन्न होती है। विषयता विशेष्यता प्रकारतादि भेद से अनेक प्रकार की हैं। उनमें विशेष्यता रूप विषयता सम्बन्ध से अनुमिति की उत्पत्ति पक्ष रूप विशेष्य में ही होती है। यही

वात अनुमिति प्रतिबन्धक सिद्धि के वारे में भी है। फलतः जिस पक्ष में विशेष्यता सम्बन्ध से सिद्धि रहेगी, उस पक्ष में विशेष्यता सम्बन्ध से अनुमिति नहीं होगी। अतः जिस पक्ष में अनुमिति इष्ट हो उस पक्ष में विशेष्यत्व सम्बन्धेन सिद्धि का न रहना आवश्यक है। अर्थात् विशेष्यत्व सम्बन्धावच्छिन्न प्रतियोगिताक सिद्ध्यभाव का रहना आवश्यक है। इससे यह कार्य कारणभाव निष्पन्न होता है कि 'विशेष्यता सम्बन्धेन अनुमिति के प्रति विशेष्यत्व सम्बन्ध.वच्छिन्न प्रतियोगिताक सिद्ध्यभाव कारण है। जिस समय 'पर्वतो वह्निमान्, इस आकार की सिद्धि आत्मा में रहेगी, उसी समय वही सिद्धि पर्वत में भी विशेष्यता सम्बन्ध से रहेगी, अतः उससे अव्य-वहितोत्तर क्षण में सिद्धि-समानाकारक अनुमिति नहीं होगी। जिस समय आत्मा में समवाय सम्बन्ध से सिद्धि न रहेगी (फलतः सिद्धि की सत्ता ही नहीं रहेगी) उस समय विशेष्यता सम्बन्ध से पर्वत में भी सिद्धि नहीं रहेगी। अतः पक्ष-स्वरूप विशेष्य में विशेष्यत्व-सम्बन्धावच्छिन्न प्रतियोगिताक-सिद्ध्यभाव स्वरूप सम्बन्ध से रहेगा, इस लिये अन्य परामर्शादि कारणों के रहने पर विशेष्यता सम्बन्ध से अनु-मिति भी होगी। इस प्रकार 'पक्षता' शब्द को यौगिक मानने पर भी कार्य के साथ सामानाधिकरण्य की उपपत्ति होगी।

तत्त्वचिन्तामणि के आधार पर विचार करने वाले विद्वानों ने इन सब विषयों पर इतनी सूक्ष्मता से विचार का विस्तार किया है कि उसके आगे यह विवरण कुछ भी नहीं है। फिर भी आधुनिक विद्वानों ने यदि इस प्रसङ्ग में अभिरुचि दिखायी तो इस विचार को आगे भी बढ़ाया जा सकता है।

SOME ELEMENTS OF RACISM IN THE REFORMATORY MOVEMENT OF SWAMI DAYANANDA SARASVATI

HETUKAR JHA

The last century witnessed a series of interesting confrontation between the then colonizer and India. On the one side there stood the imperialist ruler, well equipped with arms, ideologies and economic interest, on the other, there were the ruled, silent and passive masses, projecting at some intervals only one or two or three individuals. It is the encounter of these few individuals with western ideas and ideals which has contributed a great deal to the history of modern India. Swami Dayananda Sarasvati is one such individual.

Born and brought up in a very orthodox invironment in Gujarat, Swamiji developed a unique extermism in building up his self-consciousness which later on became his main idea and he spared no effort in convincing the people of India about its relevance. This idea was his only weapon and with this weapon he stood against the British interests.

British interests in India were the outcome of a very narrow attitude which had developed during the last four centuries in Europe. One very important dimension of such an attitude, was racism.

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Although, anthropologists, biologists etc. have proved the idea of superiority or inferiority of a group of people on the basis of hereditary charecteristics as pure myth, yet, racism has been practised for one reason or another since time immemorial. Some of the historians of Ancient India believe that the role of colour was very important in the evolution of caste system. Sir Herbert Risley stated likewise, "the conquering Aryans behaved towards the conquered Dravidians in the same way as some planters in America behaved towards the African slaves."[1] The Greeks of two thousand years back considered those who did not belong to their own race as inferior as barbarians and Herodotus's accounts tell us much about the feeling of superiority that Persians had about themselves.[2] Since, the accounts of distant past are not available in detail, it becomes very difficult to settle to a point which might specify the nature of racism that used to be practised in the past and the motivation behind it. It is only during the last four centuries that one may have a full-dress view of racism.

The beginning of African colonization and the discovery of America and of the trans-Pacific sea route to India have been marked to have given a great impetus to race prejudice.[3] Juan Comas is of the opinion that the same "can be explained on grounds of economic

1. Sharma R. S.—*Light on Early Indian Society and Economy* (p. 6), P. C. Manakatala and Sons Private Ltd , Bombay 1966.

2. Comas, Juan—*Racial myths* (p. 6) The Race Question in Modern Science Series' UNESCO, Paris, 1952,

3. *Ibid*, (p. 7.)

self-interest."[4] He has substantiated his hypothesis by citing the instance of slavery which grew as in institution in the eighteenth century in the Southern Part of America." "The development of Power spinning and weaving opened ever wider markets to cotton manufactures and "cotton was king" particulary in the Southern Part of U. S. The result was an increasing demand for servile labour, slavery, which has breaking down in America and might have vanished of itself automatically became a sacrosanct institution on which the prosperity of the cotton Belt depended. It was to defend this so-called 'special institution' that southern thinkers and sociologists developed a complete pseudo-scientific mythology designed to justify a state of affairs clean contrary to the democratic beliefs they professed."[5]

The contributions of sociologists, particularly Herbert Spencer and Lewis H. Morgon are significant in this context. Spencer borrowed from Darwin the idea of evolution, struggle for existence and survival of the fittest. He introduced social Darwinism to the Sociological tradition. This gave the ideological strength to the economic self-interest of the colonizing people, who could justify this stand in their own eyes and before the rest of mankind "that slavery of death brought to "enferior" human groups by European rifles and machine guns was no more than the implementation of the theory of the replacement of an enferior by a superior society".[6] Similarly Kenneth L. Little has

4. *Ibid.*, (p. 7).
5. *Ibid.*, (p. 5).
6. *Ibid.*, (p. 8).

pointed out how Morgon's theory of evolution put fuel to the fire of grudge of Europeans. "Lewis Morgon who paid special attention to kinship, marriage and property divided all history into three main stages Savagery, Barbarism and Civilization and correlated each with intellectual and economic achievements. As civilization was correlated with literacy it meant that all non literate peoples including all Negroes in Africa were lower and more primitive."[7] Such lines of thinking brought Racism to the status of a full-fledged regular doctrine during eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, being openly displayed even within the bonndary of the same people, Erich Suchsland and Alexis Carrel (Man the unknown) are the important names among those who believed that "the bombardment of poor quarters would be a form of selection" because the poor were supposed to be "inferior and the rich the superior."[8] The alleged superiority and enferiority were supposed to be determined by birth i. e. if one were born rich, he was racially superior and if he were born poor, he was obviously racially inferior. This instance of the practice of racism within the same people suggests that skin, colour and other physical indexes were of only superficial importance and were utilized only when economically useful. Birth was perhaps, alone thought of producing superior or inferior people. For the justi-

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7. Little, Kenneth L.—*Race and Society* (p. 43), UNESCO, Paris, 1953.

8. Comas, Juan—Opp. Cit (p. 10).

fication of Birth as the sole gate of differentiating people into two grades, the idea of purity of blood was put forward, which developed as Aryanism, and furthered the march of Racism in a great deal.

Arthurde Gobineau was the first who laid the full dress view of 'Aryanism' in the midnineteenth century. His contact with several others including Richard Wagner helped this doctrine to spread in a good deal. In this brand of Racism, feeling of superiority was subjected to the purity of blood, so much so that "the champions of Aryanism lauded the Nordic element as the source of all higher civilizations and major achievements of humanity in whatever age and place but also for instance the chinese civilization arose as a result of the infiltration of "*Aryan Blood.*"[9] If a group within the same people or the entire people had a feeling of superiority to another group or another people, it meant that group or that people had the purity of descent i.e. Aryan blood.

While the British rulers were utilizing such a racists-policy weapon in India for their economic self interest, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, have desciplined himself in a charismatic manner held a counter racist defence on the Hindu frontier of Indian Society. His mind was very consciously towards even the minutest moves of the then Englisman. Dayanand finally entered the field fully spirited to challenge and hit a situation being described by his disciple Lala Hansraj. "During the palmiest days of Mahomedan rule, the Hindu had never

9. *Ibid.*, (p. 35).

acknowledged themselves beaten by their masters in intellectual and moral progress. A Mahomedan Babar might defeat a Hindu Sanga...........but even he had to bend before a Hindu Nanak...........But with the advent of the English the case has become different. Hardly a day passes when we are not reminded of our enferiority. The railways, the telegraph and the factory speak in unmistakable terms both to the educated and uneducated that English men are far superior to them......The dramas of Shakespeare, the poems of Milton and the writings of Bacon attest the intellectual eminents of the ruling people."[10] He prepared himself fully equipped only with the realities of Hindu Shastras and tradition but also with the minutest details of two religions Islam and Christianity. The assistance of his friends who knew English made him aware of the depth of the intellectual and philosophical achievement of the ruling people, even their knowledge about the intellectual attainments of Ancient India peopled with Aryans through the efforts of some European scholars like Sir William Jones, Max Muller, Monier Williams etc. He was thus ready with the same stick to beat the rulers which the latter had utilized. The only diffcrence was that he had no economic self interest. The only interest he had was to prove that Hindu were not enferior to any one and then they were pure.

He named the organization that he founded in 1875 as Arya Samaj, perhaps with a mind to show to the alien public that the Hindus were the real and

10. Rai, Lala Lajpat—*A History of Arya Samaj* (p. 102-3), Orient Longmans Ltd., Delhi, 1967.

direct inheritors of the Aryan blood—hence possessed a superior potentiality. This is further confirmed by the way he defined an Arya in his book *Śatyārtha Prakāśa.* He has said "the *Śreṣṭha* are called Arya, learned and Deva."[11] Here by Arya he means *Śreṣṭha,* the English equivalent of which is "superior". He directed his efforts by ways of addressing meetings and writing towards proving this Hindu superiority by comparing the intellectual contributions of Hindus, Christians and Mohammadans. The last two chapters of his book contain his bitter and sharp attack in the style of disputation on Christians and Mohammadans.[12] He had ardent faith in the infallibility of the Vedas, through which he attempted to display the merit of dwarfing other people self consciousness.

The idea of superiority for the entire Hindu masses he professed till the end of his life was accompanied with the idea of purity also. He was so strict in conserving the purity aspect that he always spoke in public meetings in Sanskrit—the language of Aryans. He wrote his book Satyartha Prakash first in Sanskrit. It was after some time when the leaders of Brahmo Samaj of Calcutta impressed upon him that for his massage to be directly conveyed to the masses, it was necessary for him to speak in Hindustani and write in Hindustani. Only then he started addressing meetings in the language intelligible to audiance.

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11. Dayananda—*Satyārthś Prakāśa* 'p. 122) Vedik Pustakalay, Ajmar.

12. *Ibid.*

rule during this period, the risk involved in this adventure was indeed great.

A vast majority of these Indian emigrants came from North India (*Āryāvarta* of ancient times and Hindustan of medieval age). Because they came through the port of Calcutta in Bengal, they were known as 'Kalkatiyas,' to distinguish them from about five thousand (10 p.c. of the total emigrants up to 1870) South Indians who emigrated through the port of Madras and were known as 'Madrasis in Trinidad.

During the period of this exodus many political and administrative developments took place in North India. The United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, lying between 23°52' and 31°18' North and 77°3' and 84°39' East and bounded on the North by Tibet and on the North-East by Nepal, on the East and South-East by the districts of the province of Bihar, on the West by the States of Gwalior, Dholpur and Bharatpur and Delhi and some districts of the Panjab, and flanked by the river Yamunā (Jamanā) on the West and Gandak on the East and the river Gaṅgā (Ganges) passing through its southern part, was created by the British for administrative convenience. The Presidency of Agra, 83,198 square miles in area, acquired by the Britsh in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, was formed in 1834 and a Lt. Governor was appointed to these North-West Provinces in 1836. The Major part of the province of Oudh (Ayodhyā or Awadh), 23,966 square miles in area, annexed by the British in 1856, was first placed under a Chief Commissioner; in 1877 alongwith Agra it

became one administrative division under the Lt. Governor of the North-West provinces and then in 1902 the area was named the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.[2]

The northern Himalayan tracts of U.P. consisted of the districts of Garhwal, Almora, Dehradun and Nainital, a large portion of which had been annexed by the British in 1816. The sub-Himalayan tracts comprised the districts of Saharanpur, Bijnor, Rampur State, Bareilly and Pilibhit and further down the districts of Kheri, Bahraich, Gonda, Basti and Gorakhpur on the Nepal border.

The western portion of the Great Gengetic plain consisted of thirteen districts viz. Muzaffarnagar, Meerut, Bulandshahr, Aligarh, Muttra, Agra, Farukhābad, Mainpuri, Etawah, Etah, Budaun, Moradabad and

2. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford, 1908, vol. XXIV, P. 132. See Map 7 in J.A. Weller, *The East Indian Indenture in Trinidad*, Puerto Rico, 1968. Out of 2,447 who came in 1908 to Trinidad 1,248 were from Agra and 983 from Oudh areas (*Ibid.*, p. 125).

The North-Western Provinces, says B.B. Misra, "consisted of the districts ceded by the Nawab of Oudh in 1775 and 1801 as well as those conquered from the Marathas in 1803". The ceded districts comprised Gorakhpur, Allahabad Cawnpore, Farrukhabad, Etawah, Bareilly, and Moradabad. The districts of Agra, Delhi, Aligarh and Saharanpur, including Meerut, were conquered by the British from the Sindhia, a Maratha chief: *The Indian Middle Classes*: their growth in modern times, O. U. P., London, 1961, pp. 135-36.

Shahjahanpur, most of these between the famous rivers Ganga and Yamuna. In the centre of the great plain lay the districts of Cawnpore (Kanpur from Kanhaiya or Krishna or Kanpur), Fatehpur and Allahabad, with nine of the Oudh districts lying betwen the rivers Ganga and Gogra: Lucknow, Unao, Rae Bareli, Sitapur, Hardoi, Fyzabad, Sultanpur, Partabgarh and Bāra Bankī.

The eastern portion of the great plain included Ballia, Jaunpur, Azamgarh, Banaras and Ghazipur districts, all lying between the Gogra and the Ganga rivers.

On the south-west and south lay the four districts of Jalāun, Bāndā, Hamirpur and Jhansi. Mirzapur was the largest district in the plains.

The province of Bihar[3] (from the numerous *Vihāras* or Buddhist monasteries), to the east of U.P., with almost the same soil and weather conditions as in the latter province, was formally acceded by the Mughal Emperor of India to the British in 1765 by the Grant of Diwani for revenue collection, and till 1912 it formed part of the Bengal Presidency. From 1894, however, it was under a Lt. Governor. Divided by the Ganges almost in the middle and flanked by the foothills of the Himalayas in the North, this area, besides the Chota-Nagpur plateau, lying between 23°48' and 27°31' North and 83°20' and 88°32' East, consisted of the districts of Saran,

3. *Imperial Gazetteer, op. cit.*, vol. VIII, p. 171. See map 8 in Weller, *op. cit.* Also see p. 125 (*Ibid.*): Out of 2,447, who came to Trinidad in 1908 only 120 came from Bihar—107 from Shahabad, 41 from Patna, 25 from Darbhanga, 23 from Gaya and 19 from Saran,

Champaran, Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Purnea and North Bhagalpur in the North and Shahabad, Patna, Gaya, Monghyr, Santhal Parganas and part of Bhagalpur in the South.

It was from these two provinces[4] that a vast majority of Indians came and settled in Trinidad. By the year 1870, about 16,207 or 41.7 per cent of the total number of Indian immigrants came from Agra and Oudh; 11,278 or 29.3 per cent from Bihar and 8,396 or 21.9 per cent from Bengal, with a sprikling of tribal people from Chota-Nagpur and the hills of North Bengal and Assam called 'hill coolies' or 'junglies' in Trinidad. Between 1876 and 1879 came 6,384 men, women and children of whom 46.5 per cent came from Agra and 27.9 from Oudh and 16 2 per cent from Bihar and only 5.4 per cent from Bengal.

Up to 1891, about 11,885 went back to India; many died in Trinidad, and after the offer of Crown land around 1870 many settled in Trinidad for good. It is these settlers who bequeathed to their children and grand-children the cultural heritage of India, to be precise, the legacy of the *Madhyadeśa* of ancient times. This area, the seat of ancient cultures, was over-populated and economically depressed in the later part of the nineteenth

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4. Weller (*op. cit.*, p. 1) is only partially correct when she says that they came mainly from Bengal, the United Provinces, and Madras. Morton klass (*East Indians in Trinidad*, New york, 1961, p. 9) is also partly correct in agreeing with N. Gangulee (*Indians in the Empire Overseas*, London, 1947) that most of them emigrated from Madras and the United Provinces, and then saying that Calcutta is near the United Provinces.

century. The extreme heat in the summer, the floods in the monsoon leading to whole-scale destruction of crops, and the recurrent famines[5] made life difficult under the British rule. Rural indebtedness was appalling and agriculture was 'by no means an easy business by which to make a living'.[6] Moreover, the Mutiny-cum-Revolt of 1857 had a disastrous socio-economic effect on this region.

Most of the Indian emigration in the second half of the nineteenth century therefore occurred from this area. From the United Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh) alone, about 700,000 persons left in search of employment for other parts of India between 1891 and 1901, while more than 100,000 were registered in 1908 as emigrants to the West Indies, Fiji, and Natal, and there was a considerable exodus from the eastern submontane districts into Nepal.[7] The districts from which people chiefly emigrated lay 'east of a line drawn through Allahabad and Fyzabad'.[8]

In Bihar, the western districts of Shahabad with district headquarters at Arrah, and Saran with headquarters at Chapra, contributed a good deal to

5. At least four severe scarcities between 1845 and 1858 and ten major famines and two severe scarcities occurred in India during the period 1858-1909: Satis Chandra Ray, *An Essay on the Economic Causes of Famines in India*, Calcutta, 1909, pp. 1-2.

6. W. H. Moreland, *The Revenue Administration of the United Provinces*, Allahabad 1911, p. 57.

7. *Imperial Gazetteer of India, op. cit.*,vol., XXIV, p. 163.

8. *Ibid.* p. 164, See map 7 in Weller, *op. cit.*

emigration. The people of Shahabad, it was said in 1908, 'are in demand all over Bengal as zamindars' peons and club men'; and many also emigrate to the colonies.'[9]

Many of these emigrants had possessed land before the unforeseen calamities fell on them; they also knew the value of money. Naturally, therefore, they preferred to live a simple life and save money to acquire property as soon as possible so that their children could live in comfort. No wonder then that by late 1870's the Indians in Trinidad had some good horses, which won prizes in races and the best kept cows and between 1885 and 1909 they acquired 69,087 acres of land.

E. F. L. Wood's report of 1922 described the East Indians, to distinguish them from the Amerindians and West Indians, about 13,000 innumber, "largely illiterate, speaking some five or six different languages", and living a life of their own.[10] What Wood really missed was the fundamental unity in apparent diversities–a legacy from India. 'Illiteracy' here meant 'devoid of English Education', but this again was a legacy from U.P. and Bihar where western education in the rural areas was suspected up to the end of the nineteenth century as leading to conversion to Christianity. Exclusiveness was a result of the exigencies of the situation.

The proportion of the Hindus to the Muslims in Trinidad in the last decade of the 19th century was approximately the same as in U. P. and Bihar at this

9. *Imperial Gazetteer, op. cit*, vol. XXII, p. 190.

10. Report by Wood on his *Visit to the West Indies and British Guiana*, 1921-1922, London, 1922, p. 22.

time. In 1893 Comins noted that in 1891, 85·9 per cent of the non-christian Indians were Hindus and 13.44 percent Muhammadans. According to the 1901 census of India 85 per cent of the population in U. P. were Hindus and 14 per cent Muslims and in Sahabad (in Bihar) 92.7 per cent Hindus and 7.3 per cent Muslims.

Religion has always been the core of Indian culture and the religious philosophy has occupied a central place in the Indian way of life. To the Indians, who emigrated to far-off lands religion, was a great sustainer and at times a tranquilizer.

The Indian Muslims brought to Trinidad their scripture, the *Quran* ('Recital') the infallible word of Allah (God), containing the creed and the proper pattern of life, believed to have been revealed to the Prophet Mohammed by the Angel Gabriel. Even now the reading of the *Qurān* and offering of *namāj* (prayer) is a must with the devout Muslims. Islam is a brotherhood, all the faithful being equal before God. But in Indian conditions a sort of social hierarchy had been created in the Muslim society also.

The shias brought the festival of Muharram. The *Tazia* procession (Husain or Hosé) was the biggest festival in which Hindus also participated. In fact, from 1850's[11] this festival became the annual demonstration of Indian national feeling which culminated in the Hosé

11. The first estate to have a *taziya* procession was Philippine Estate near Couva. See Donald wood, *Trinidad in Transition*, London, 1968, pp. 151-153. Also see *Correspondence respecting the Coolie disturbances in Trinidad at the Mohurrum Festival*, Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, 1885.

Riots of San Fernando in 1884. A big flag is raised at the start of the ceremony and the *tazias* (replicas of the tombs of Hasan and Husain, grand-children of prophet Mohammed) are led by specially trained moon dancers to the accompaniment of drum beating and 'gatka' (stick) fighting. In the past fire rod dancing was also done, twirling a 12 foot pole with flaming rags secured to either end.[12] Even the non-Indians have been taking part in the procession. Like the Muharram, Idul-fitra and Sab–e–Barat are celebrated in Trinided in the same way as in India. The Hindu festival of *Shivarātri* has some similarity to the latter Muslim festival.

Smaller mosques were built as soon as some Muslims in Trinidad could afford to have them. To-day the St. Joseph mosque and the Nur-e–Islam mosque in San Juan are beautiful structures, serving as religious and cultural centres for the Muslim community.

There is evidenes of some christians having come from India, especially from the Malabar coast, many Indian christians in Trinidad, however, have been converts from the Hindu and Muslim communities. Many of such converts still retain their hereditary respect for the Hindu or Muslim way of life. A few churches, like the Susamachar Presbyterian in San Farnando, established in early 1870's are visited mainly by the Indians. Hindus partake in the festivities of Christmas

12. Gertrude Carmichael, *The History of the WestIndian Islands of Trinidad and Tobago*, 1498-1900, p. 274. Also Comins, *Note on Emigration from India to Trinidad*, Diary, p. 27 and Collens, *Guide to Trinidad*, p. 237,

and offer oil and even bracelets to the image of Virgin Mary (Sipari Mā) at Siparia.[13]

The relationship between the Muslims on the one hand and the Hindus on the other has been, on the whole, cordial. In the United Provinces and Bihar where a rapprochement had taken place between the two religions in medieval times, the same sort of co-existence could be seen in the early nineteenth century. The cult of *Satyapir* and the veneration of Muslim Sufi saints in North India symbolised this cordial ralationship since the medieval times. Muslim separatism culminating in the partition of the sub-continent was a much later development.

Hinduism has no established church nor one prophet and it may be called a commonwealth of varying sects and beliefs. The Hindu immigrants in Trinidad brought almost all the intellectual, metaphysical and ritualistic traditions of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. But in the early days of indenture they pursued their religious practices modestly. There was no big festival or community *yajñas* neither 'swinging festival' nor the birthday of any God was observed on a big scale. But by the early 1860 Hindu temples were built, priests were engaged and in early 1880s the south Indian fire walking ceremony became so popular that the regulations were issued by a frightened Government to curb the processions.

Today the Vedic tradition of *Yajña* (fire-sacrifice)-*homa* and *havana*—can be seen in many Hindu homes. The Upanishadic (Vedantic) tradition of *jñāna* (knowledge through meditation) and the *bhakti* (devotion,

13. D. W. D. Comins, *Notes on Emigration from India to Trinidad*, Calcutta, 1893, p. 27.

tradition of *Śrīmadbhagavadgītā* is also known. The *Varṇāśrama-dharma* (ordained duties of the four classes of the people—Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and śūdra and the four stages of life (*Brahmacharya*, *Gṛhastha*, *Vānapraśtha* and *Sanyāsa*, and the four goals of life—*dharma* (righteousness), *artha* (vocation), *kāma* (fulfilment of desires, and *mokṣa* (release from the cycle of births and deaths), and the theories of re-incarnation, the *karma* and *saṁsāra* (transmigration of soul)—are known to many elderly people.[14] The Paurāṇika belief, in the triad of Gods—Brahmā, the creator, Viṣṇu, the preserver and Śiva (Maheśa), the destroyer—the three manifestations of the Supreme Brahman (God)—is retained by the majority of Hindus.

J.H. Collens in 1888[15] referred to the mythological, philosophical and theological works, which the Hindus in Trinidad respected. Even now the *pandits* (priests) and older Hindus in general, know the traditional cosmic chronology divided into the four epochs—*Kṛta* or *Satya* (golden), *Tretā*, ending with the events of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Dvāpara*, ending with the age of Kṛṣṇa, and *Kaliyuga* (dark age) which is continuing. Indeed, the religion of the Hindus has a very long tradition, from the animism of the Indus-Valley Civilisation through the *Śruti* (heard), *Smṛti* (remembered) literature, the two epics (the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Valmiki and the *Mahābhārata* of Vyāsa) and the

14. This information is based on personal interviews. See Kewal Motwāni, *Manu Dharma Śāstra*: a sociological and historical study, Madras, 1958 : on Karma pp. 50-52 ; on social groups, pp. 34-35 and 52-54; on *mokṣa* (salvation of soul), p. 67, on the *āśramas*, pp. 57-62, on re-incarnation, p. 49.

15. *Guide to Trinidad*, London, pp. 228-232,

eighteen Purāṇas to the medieval *bhakti* (devotional) movement and the reformation movements of modern times, and all these stages of development are familiar to the priests and some of the older members of the Hindu community in Trinidad.

A *Pūjā* (worship) is either an individual affair like *Sandhyāvandana* in which the *matras* (hymns) from *ṚgVeda Yajur-Veda* are chanted or a community or congregational affair in a temple or a hall or a *pandal* like the reading of *Bhāgavata* or *Śiva Purāṇa* in Sanskrit or the *Rāmāyāṇa* of Tulsidas in old Hindi (Awadhi). On the festival days special *pūjās* are done in honour of a deity; some pūjās, on the other hand, are done on the fulfilment of some wish for which a ceremony had been promised (*manautī* done). God Mahāvīra (Hanumān) is worshipped to ward off danger, Goddess Saraswati for learning, Goddess Lakṣmī for wealth and Sun God (Sūrya Nārāyaṇa) for warding off diseases. The worship of Kālī is only confined to a smaller section, because it involves the sacrifice of goat.[16]

As in North India, a few devotees of Śiva or Viṣṇu, usually of the higher caste, have the Śiva-liṅga (stone

16. Morton S. E., *John Morton of Trinidad*, Toronto, 1916, p. 3: On 6 February 1868 Morton saw a place of goat-sacrifice in Trinidad : "a pole with a small flag flying, a small altar of mud, and near it two stakes a few inches apart driven firmly into the ground. Two small bars passed through these stakes, one near the ground, the other a few inches up, forming a sort of yoke into which the neck of the goat to be sacrificed is placed and its head severed with one blow". The author of this paper has seen such stakes in the villages of Bihar, U. P. and Bengal in the past, but now these are becoming more and more unpopular.

emblem of Śiva) or the marble image of some God in the house and they worship these deities daily; special *pūjas* are however, done on the occasion of Śiva-rātri or in honour of the two most popular incarnations of Viṣṇu, *i.e.*, Rāma and Kṛṣṇa.

The most popular festival of the Hindus in Trinidad is Diwali (festival of lights) to commemorate the home-coming of Rāma to Ayodhā in the Fyzabad district after slaying the demon Rāvaṇa and rescuing Sītā. In the late nineteenth century a Trinidad newspaper called it the Dehwarri-AHAMAWAS' (Diwari—Amawas), a Hindu 'feast' when all the houses and places of business were illuminated with tiny tapers and Chirag (little earthenware bowls, filled with coconut oil and having cotton-wicks lighted), and plantain and banana trees were used in the decorations, lights, being suspended from the leaves'.[17] Arches were also erected and lights were fixed on them. Tunapuna Hindu Temple was skilfully decorated and illuminated. During the last four or five years, the celebration is done on a national and lavish scale.

The worship of Lakṣmī, the Goddess of wealth, is done in many Hindu homes: the image of the goddess is washed in milk or water, *prasāda* (offering) offered and *bhajan* (devotional songs) sung in her honour. Of late one

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17. *Port of Spain Gazette*, 27 Oct. 1897: An untoward incident during the celebration of 1895 is also mentioned. In the rural areas of Bihar and U. P. the celebration is even now called Diwarī-amawas in some dialects of Hindi. *Ghee* (clarified butter) and mustard oil are used in *diyas* in some affluent homes.

of the most popular songs is 'Jai Lakṣmī Mātā'. Floor-washing (lipe) with *gobar* (cow-dung) is till done in some ordinary houses, but the special treatment of cows and bulls with a herbal mixture (*pakheba*) is almost forgotten. So has disappeared the Bhrātṛdvitīya (*Bhāī-Dūja*) when the sister performs a ceremony to wish a long life to her brother. The bon-fire and a candle on a bamboo near the entrance of the court-yard are also not seen on the Diwali night. But the lighting of the *yama-diyā* (big clay wick) to ward off evil spirits, the lighting of thousands of smaller *dīyas* on bamboo pieces and the distribution of sweets are even now the special features of the festival.[18]

Phagawā (Holī or Horī), the spring festival of India,[19] continues to be another very important festival in Trinidad, even though there is no spring season here. The Hori or Kabira songs sung to the accompaniment of *dholak* (small drum), *Jhāl* or majīrā and sometimes harmonium, are the same which were brought from U.P. and west Bihar. For example, '*panghaṭ nā jā panghaṭ nā jā, chhaila abīr marelā*' (Do not go to the bank of the river, for the boy (Krishna) throws colour). The *Chowtal* singing competition and throwing of dry colour or plain white powder or coloured water continue to be the main items of the celebration. The legends connected with demoness Holikā, bhakta Prahlāda and demon Hiraṇya-Kaśipu as well as those of the demoness Putanā and

18. See Klass *op. cit.*, pp. 160-61.

19. See N. K. Bose, 'The Spring Festival of India', *Culture and Society in India*, London, 1967, pp. 36-85.

Lord-Kṛṣṇa are known to many Hindus of Trinidad and in their songs, they commemorate the sportings of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā on the one hand and Rāma and Sītā on the other.

The other important Hindu festivals of Trinidad are the birthdays of Rāmā (Rāmanavamī) in the Hindu month of Chaita (March-April) Kṛṣṇāṣṭamī (Janmāshṭamī) in Bhadava (about August), the wedding night of Śiva-rātri) in Phālguṇa (February-March) and *Kātik-ke-nahān* ('ceremonial bathing in the month of Kārtika or October-November).[20] Bathing in the sea, the devotees believe, will get them almost the same boon as bathing in the Ganga river.

A *Jhaṇḍi* (small triangular flag) is put on a green bamboo and planted near the house where the *Pūjā* is held. The most popular *pūjā* is that of Satyanārāyaṇa (Satyadeva)—perhaps as popular as in the rural areas of U. P. and Bihar. The *Kathā* of this God of Truth is said in Sanskrit, Hindi and English by the priest and a white flag is hung in his honour. A red flag is hung in honour of Mahāvīra (Hanumān), a yellow one in honour of Goddess Lakshmi or Durgā and sometimes in honour of Kṛṣṇa. Unfurling of a black flag in honour of Goddess Kālī is now a very rare thing.

The making of vedī (altar), putting of a *Kalaśa* with water and *āmrapallava* (mango-twig), offering of

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20. *Ibid.*, pp. 161-62, 192. Some Trinidad Hindus believe that Shiva-rātrī commemorates the drinking of poison by Shiva (Mahādeva); others say it is his birthday. See Klass, op. cit. p. 171 and Niehoff, Arthur and Juanita, *East Indians in the West Indies* Milwaukee, 1960, p. 114.

ghee (clarified butter) and some pieces of mango wood *ārati* (sacred fire with camphor), *guru-pūjā* (respectful offering to the priest-teacher)—*dakṣiṇā* (in cash) and *sidha* (in kind, usually rice and *dal*)–uttering of significant syllables (*praṇava*) like 'Om' frequently, chanting of the famous Gāyatri mantra of *Ṛgveda*, the making of the sacred sign of swastika, and the invocation of Gaṇeśa (elephant-faced God) in the beginning of a pūjā—these are the same in Trinidad Hindu *pūjā* and *havana* as have been done in North India for ages.[21]

The *pūjās* of the Kabīrapanth and Shewnarain-panṭh are different from the Sanatani and Ārya *Yajña* (Jag), but the teachings of Kabīr Dās (1440-1518 A. D.) of Banaras and of Swami Shiva Narayan of the Kanpur area of U. P. of the eighteenth century are very much based on the Vedanta. Their opposition to the caste-system and some rituals is a legacy of the religious reformation movements which started with Gautam Buddha in Bihar in the sixth century B. C. The *Sākhīs* (poems) of Kabır and *Guru-Āryas* (*Guru Grantha*) of Shiva Narayan in old Hindi are read at the respective congregations in Trinidad. The *Aughar-panthis* or *Kanphaṭā* yogīs, the followers of Guru Gorakh Nath, were seen in Trinidad by Comins towards the end of the last century, but now only one or two of them can be found. The old *jyotiṣis* (astrologers) and palmists have also disappeared and now the Hindus have to rely on a few

21. Based on the author's personal observations of pujas of each sect of Hindus in Trinidad. The followers of the *Sanātana-Dharma* (eternal religion) form the largest Indian religious group in Trinidad.

old pandits, who can consult the *paṭras* (*pancāṅga*) and tell the planetary positions.

In the field of music, dance and drama the Indians brought to Trinidad the classical as well as folk music[22], but the classical forms like *Bhairavī* sung in early dawn have almost disappeared. *Hori*, Jhumar, *dhrupad* and *basant* forms are sung at the time of phagawā (Holi). *Thumrī* and *Gazal* are also heard sometimes. *Birhā*, *rasiyā* and *Ālhā-Udāl* (Rudal), the ballads from North India, are now disappearing. But the singing of the Rāmāyaṇa and other bhajans are still very popular. Among the musical instruments, *sāraṅgī*, *sitār*[23], *ḍholak* ('a small barrel-shaped drum which is struck sharply and rhythmically with the fingers at one end and the palm of the hand at the other'), tabla, harmonium, *dand-tala*, *Kartāl*, etc. are still popular.[24] But the *tassa* and *dhap* and other drums are used on special occasions only.

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22. Among the early Trinidad Indian singers Phiramat, Imāmi, Deoki Singh, Badloo Rai, Sultan Khan and Pahalwan Singh and among the later muscians Fakir Mohammed, Ali Jan, Mohangir Gosine, Bel Begai, Demerara Maharaj, Dan Bahadoor Singh and Yacoob may be mentioned.

23. Nand Kishore, Sam Dindyal and Seeram Maharaj were famous *sitar* players and Ramcharan Ostad, Dharam Gosine, Dukhia, Samuel and Mahamada li good drummers.

24. W. H. and C. V. Wiser, *Behind Mud Walls*, 1930 1960, Berkeley, 2nd Print, 1964, p. 11. Also sec U. Arya, *Ritual Songs and Folksongs of the Hindus of Surinam*, Leiden, 1968, pp. 8-10.

Indrasabhā[25], Rājā Hariśchandra[26], Gopichand[27] and Sarwarneer were very popular dance-dramas at one time among Indians of Trinidad. So were the Rāma-līlā Kṛṣṇalīlā and Rasmandal[28] dance-dramas. Now Indian films and their songs have almost killed these traditional shows. What one finds on the television, radio and social gatherings is an imitation of popular Hindi film singers' renderings. Now there are local Rafi, Talat, Mukesh and those others, whose voice resembles the artistes of those names from Bombay[29]. Lalchan Singh is the local Rafi, who won the prize of a Toyota car on the Mastānā Bahar

25. Fakir Mohammed popularised Indar (Indra) Sabhā dance in Trinidad in 1920s.

26. The story of this king of Uttar Pradesh who gave away his kindom to keep his promise was enacted by skilful actors of Trinidad.

27. Gopal Haldar, 'Studies in Bengali Lauguage and Literature: The Legend of Raja Gopichand', *Indian Studies: Past & Present*, Vol. V, no. 2, Jan., March 1964, p. 135. The legend of Raja Gopichand is current all over Aryan-speaking India. Probably it originated in Bengal and then spread to Bihar, U. P., Punjab, Rajasthan, Central India, Gujarat and Maharastra.

28. Harripersad Sampath and Sookdeo Ramakrishna of Penal contributed much to Rahas (Rās) Mandal dance in 1950s and early 1960s.

29. The visit of famous singers like Hemant Kumar, Manna Day, Kishore Kumar, Geeta Dutta and Rafi and dancers like Rama Gopal and Vaijayanthimala from India during the last decade and the exhibition of Hindi films have contributed a good deal to this development. Patricia Rahim, the daughter of the famous dancer, Champa Devi, is herself a good dancer and so is Rajkumar (Krishna) trained in India.

Indian programme on the Trinidad and Tobago Television recently. N. Ramaya is an accomplished violin player.

Indian musical tradition has influenced the band music also. Many popular Indian tunes are rendered on the steel band. There are more than one hundred registered Indian orchestras in Trinidad at the moment and the Raymond family renders popular tunes from Hindi films into band music.

Caste is an all-India phenomenon[30], but a few castes can be found only in certain areas. The first reference to the cāturvarṇya (four orders) is found in the" Puruṣa sūkta, of the *ṚgVeda* of the mid-second millenium B.C. : "When they divided the primeval being (Puruṣa), the Brāhmaṇa was his mouth, the Rājanya became his arms, the Vaiśya was his thighs, and from his feet sprang the

30. M. N. Srinivas, *Social Change in Modern India*, p. 3. The word 'caste' is of Portuguese origin, meaning race or breed. Exclusiveness as regards both marriage and social intercourse made the caste system a peculiar form of social organisation, without any parallel in the modern world : L. S. S. O'Malley, *Indian Caste Customs*, Cambridge, 1932, pp. 1-2. Also see Louis Dumont, Caste: A Phenomenon of Social Structure or An Aspect of Indian Culture?', A. de Reuck and J. Knight (ed), *Caste and Race* : Comparative Approaches, London, 1967, p. 28. Also Surajit Sinha, 'Caste in India : its essential pattern of socio-cultural integration' : The caste system may be defined as 'a hierarchy of endogamous groups, organised in a characteristic hereditary division of labour', *Ibid.*, p. 92. Also see the classic work of J. H. Hutton *Caste in India* : Its Nature, Functions and Origins, O. U P., London reprint, 1969, pp. 46-91 for structure, pp. 92-110 for sanctions and pp. 111-132 for functions.

Sūdra". In course of time, this system based on coulour and professions, became very rigid and endogamous, with hundreds of sub-caste (*jāti*), and the association between caste and traditional occupation got disturbed in many cases. According to the Indian Census of 1901 there were about 2,378 tribes and castes in India, the most numerous being the Brāhmaṇa (fourteen miltion) and the next two in number being chamar (eleven million) and Rajput (nearly ten million).

Because of the crossing of the seas (*kālā-pānī*) or black water), the community dining on the boats and in the plantations as well as the same type of manual work done by members of all castes[31], the Indians in the early period found it difficult to maintain[32] the high and low status and touch-me-notism of the society of their origin.

The caste *panchayat* (tribunal) was broken down. But gradually with the village settlements coming up, the professional distribution and specialisation was done. Thus the *kumhar* (potter) took to pottery, *nau* (barber)) to his traditional work, *teli* (oil-processor) to his own, the *brāhmaṇa* to teaching and priesthood, *bania* (grocer) to grocery, and *ahir* or *goala* to cattle-rearing and cultivation. The *mallah* took to fish and crab catching and the *chamar* would beat drums at festivals. Many of the Rajputs (kṣatriyas) had lost their land in India due to the faulty land revenue policy of the British and now they again

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31. Collens, *op. cit.* p. 234. Also see Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

32. Weller, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

became landholders. Besides these castes, koiris, kurmis and kahara who had been good cultivators in U. P. and Bihar took to their old profession here. Among the untouchables, chamars and Dusadhs and Pasis had been most numerous and hardworking. Many of the chamars and Mahars had been cultivators in U. P. and many were in the Bengal Native army. Following the unsettled state of U. P. and Bihar during and after the Mutiny of 1857, many of these, as a few high-caste displaced people, emigrated to Trinidad. Strangely enough, the word *chamār* in Trinidad is not used for shoe-makers and drummers only, but for any untouchable.

Endogamy was observed among the high-caste Indians of Trinidad and inter-caste marriage was frowned upon for quite some time, but of late inter-marriages between the Brāhmaṇas and the Kshatriyas is rather common. The marriage between a high-caste girl and a low-caste boy (*pratiloma*) is, however, still looked down upon.

The old professional division or craft-exclusiveness changed in course of time in India as in Trinidad, and the process of 'Sanskritization'[33] led to the elevation of many lower class people to the higher castes. Collens refers to some brāhmaṇas and *Sādhus* investing the lower caste rich people with *kaṇṭhi* and even 'cord' (Janeu) on payment of good fees.[34] The same process could be seen in North India in the early twentieth century. Now a brāhmaṇa or kshatriya by birth selling provision or fishing is not uncommon.

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33. See Srinivas, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
34. Collens, *op. cit.*, pp. 234-35.

From very early times the caste system had been attacked by some reformers in the areas of the origin of the vast majority of Indian immigrants. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Caste Sabhas in U. P. and Bihar tried to reform the way of life in their respective castes.

Tables 8 and 9 in Weller's *The East Indian Indentures in Trinidad* gives the break-up of the immigrants caste-wise in 1879-80 and 1889-90. In the first table there are 648 Muslims, 294 Rajputs, 294 Chamars, 255 Ahirs and Sadgopes (reformed Ahirs), 175 Brahmans and 128 kahārs; in the second 647 chamars, 355 Muslims, 275 Ahirs andSadgopes, 268 Rajputs, 157 koiris, 144 kahars, and 129 kurmis. The number of other castes is minimal. Even the high-caste people would have in most cases belonged to the agricultural profession.[34] Indeed, the Indian emigrants to Trinidad did not represent the cross-section of North Indian society; a vast majority of them belonged to the Labouring class. They were not from one caste and one locality either. In the early days, therefore, the houses and the way of life were not of one pattern—small houses with mud-

34. A Government of India despatch of 3 May 1877 said that the source of recruitment in India was 'chiefly the labourers', dependent for their support upon the cultivating classes': vide J. D. Tyson, op. cit., para. 25. Some of these poor people had been 'lured' away from India by false promises and in Trinidad they had to work as 'porters, cattle drivers and milk sellers': see Charles William Day, *Five years Residence in the West Indies*, vol. II, London, 1852, p.72. But as E. B. Underhill noted in1862 (*The West Indies*, p. 51), even in the early days of the indeuture there were a few *Gurus* and Brāhmaṇas among the Indians.

walls [35] and thatch roofs and a few small and unimeressive temples of North Indian style could be seen coming up after the barrack days.

Use of *Bhang* (hemp) as a drink, *Aphīm* or *Haphim* (opium) and *Gānjā*[36] (cannabis) and *Charas* for smoking could be seen among some frustrated Indians, Pachisi and wrestling among some grown-ups and *pataṅg* (kite-flying), *kabaḍḍi*, *Gulli-ḍaṇḍā*, cock-fighting and other sports and amusements were brought from North India. Today a typical Indian intoxicant or a typical Indian play can hardly be found: rum and cricket have sidetracked these Indian things.

Surnames were almost unknown among the lower class people of Uttar Pradesh. Only a few surnames like Misra (Mishra), Sukul (Shukla), Pande, Dubey and Tiwari for Brahmans and Singh for Rajputs came to Trinidad. In the list of emigrants on the first boat of 1845 printed in the *Indian Centenary Review* of Trinidad (edited by M. J. Kirpalani and others, 1945), all names are without surnames. Later names of pioneer emigrants like Gopal (Gopaul) became the last part of the name of the descendants. Also a name like Charan Ram became Ramcharan to look more dignified. Names like *Dukhi* (afflicted), now Dookee, Goodor (in rags) and Bhikhoo

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35. *A joupa* or 'trash house' was considered to be 'typical of poor rural East Indian'' Klass, *op. cit.*, p. 45. The poor labourers of Agra region were not expected to raise a structure like a Tajmahal or the Agra fort.

36. A letter to the Editor of the *Port of Spain Gazette* of 8 March 1898 suggested that the Ganja of East Indians should be taxed like spirits and other intoxicants.

(beggar or got in alms) would have been selected to save the child from the wrath of the God of death. Some of the names of Indians in Trinidad, as in U: P. and Bihar, are even now connected with the name of the day on which a person was born: Ravi (Sunday); Somaroo (from Somavar or Monday), Mangal or Mungal (Tuesday), Budu or Budhu or Boodoo (from Buddha or Wednesday), Vrihaspati (Thursday), Sukra (Friday), Sanichar (Saturday). In case of females, Śanichar becomes Sanichari and Mangal becomes Mangali.

Names connected with Viṣṇu and his two popular incarnations, Rama of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and Kṛṣṇa of the *Mahābhārata*, are most common: Ramaprasad (Rāmpersaud or with the grace of Rama), Rāmanareśa (Ramnarace or King Rāma), Ramabisson (Rāma Vishṇu, i.e., Rāma, the incarnation of of Viṣṇu), Ramakissoon (Rāma Krishna), Bissoondial (One on whom Viṣṇu is kind), Bissoondath (Given by Vishṇu), Kisoondath (Given by Kṛṣṇa), Kissoondial (One on whom Krishna is kind), Deokissoon (God Krishna), Balkissoon (Child Kṛṣṇa), Srikisson (Srī Krishṇa), Jaikissoon (Victory to Krisna), Ramananan (Ramanandan); Ramabaran (Ramavarṇa or one whose colour and features and like Rāma, Gopaul (Gopal or Krishna), Rām-yatna (Rāmjattan), Ramlogan (Rāmalagna), Ramcharan (at the feet of Rāma), Ramcharitar (representing the life or character or Rāma), Ramchate (ever conscious of Rāma), Rāmacoomar (Prince Rama), Rāmdath (given by Rama), Ramadeen (a poor man seeking the kindness of Rāma), Ramdial (one on whom Rama is kind), Ramadeo (God Rama), Ramadhan (with the riches of Rama), Ram Dharie (one who carries

Rama), Rāmādhār or Rāmādār (one whose hope is Rama), Rāmdwar (at the doors of Rāma), Ramessar (Rameshwar or God Rāma). Rāmgoolām or Rāmdas (slave of Rāma), Ramoutār (Rāma Avatār), Ramnarine (Rāmanārāyan). Ragabir (Raghuvira or Rāma), Mādhava (Mādho or Madoo), Kunj-bihāri (Kṛṣṇa, sporting in groves), and so on. Names connected with Lord Śiva (Shew)—Bholā, Mahādeo, Baidyanāth (Baijnāth or Bajnāth), Shambhoo (Shimboo)—are also quite common.

Among females Sītā (Siyā,) of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Tārā, another Hindu Goddess, Rādhā of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Pārvatī (the consort of Śiva, born on *Parvat* or mountain, Lakṣmī or Lachmin (the consort of Viṣṇu), Indrā or Indrāṇī (wife of Indra), and Gāyatrī (of the *Ṛg-Veda*) are popular.

Names connected with sacred rivers of India, like Gangā, Jamunā, and Sirjoo (Saryu river), and sacred places like pariyāg (prayāg or Allahbad), Harduar (Haridwar), Mathurā, Ajodhia (Ayodhyā), Awadh, and Kāshi (Banaras), can also be found.

Place or street names like Indian Walk and Hindustan Settlement, Agra Street, Ayodhya Street, Calcutta Settlement, Fyzabad, Mathura Street, Madras Settlement, Benares Street, Delhi Street, Patna Village, Baroda Street, Cawpore Street, Barrackpore, and so on, are living monuments of Indian heritage in Trinidad. There are also place-names connected with persons: Katwaroo Trace, Mahess Road, Abdool village, Akal Road, Kalloo Road, Koonkoon Street, Jogie (Yogi) Road, Sookoo Trace, Amar Singh Street, Luckput Street,

Maraj Street, Jamadar Street, Ramoutar Street, Pujadas Street, Ranjit Kumar Street, and so on.

Collens in a his *Guide to Trinidad*[36]a gives the pictures of an Indian male with turban Mirjai. (old *Kurta*) and *dhotī* and of a female with long shirt and Indian ornaments. Unlike *dhotī*, sarī was not popular among Indians in Trinidad even in the nineteenth century. But some other traditional North Indian dresses, the *dhoti*, *kurtā* and *chādar* or *jorā-jāmā* and *pagarī* (turban) for males and *Sārī cholī*, *ghānghrī*, *oṛhnī* (head-scarf) for females, are even now used on ceremonial occasions. Nehru shirt or jacket has become most popular.

Betel (*pān*) and nut (*supārī*) chewing, *godanā* (tattoo mark on hands and feet) of females, caste-marks (*tilak*) and other such things have almost disappeared. But certain important old Hindi terms are even now used widely: *dhān* (unmilled rice), *chāur*(milled rice) with varieties like *arua* or *araba* (milled without soaking the paddy in water) and *usanā* (milled after soaking in water), *akṣat* or *achchhat* (*arabā* rice for sacred rituals), *murahi* (puffed rice), *bhuja* (less puffed rice), *churā* (flaked rice), *bhāt* (boiled rice), *phulouri* or *barā*, *dālpuri*) stuffed puri) and *sohari* (a soft variety of *roti*). In rice cultivation the common terms are *har jote* (ploughing), *hangawe* (harrowing), *Kola* (small piece of land), *meri* (raised eqges of a *kola*), *machan* (raised platform of bamboos), *biya* (seed) and *biya-khet* (*kola* of seedlings). Words like *Jāntā*, *Ukhal*, *Musal* and *dheki* used for pounding rice and its varieties are used in the rural areas.

36a. *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

Bhāī, *bhaiyā*, *bhaiwa* and *bhayi* are the variation in North India for the Sanskrit word *bhrātṛ* (brother) and these are found in Trinidad alongwith the word (*dādā*) used among the Bengalis. *Bhauji* for sister-in-law instead of *bhābhī* of modern Hindi, *bahin* or *didi* for sister and not *bahan*, *sārī* and not *sālī* for wife's sister, *sār* and not *sālā* for wife's brother, *kākā* and not *chāchā* for father's brother, *kajar* and not *kajal* for an unguent for eyes, *Ajā* and *Ajī* for *Dādā* and *Dādī* (father's father and mother), *khaibe* (eating), *nahaibe* (bathing), *uthawe* (getting up), *sutawe* (sleeping), *jaibe* (going), are some of the linguistic legacies from U. P. and Bihar. *Murai* for raddish, *baigan*, *Sahijan*, for brinjal, *bhaji*, *lauki*, *jhingi*, *suthani*, *karaili*, *haradi* (turmeric), *kāpā* (for copper) and the use of 'nā' in English are the typical Indian influence in this part of the world.

The Indians in the early days of indenture yearned for their return to the mother country some day and therefore did not create a society here. But after they acquired land and developed their village settlements, like Calcutta, Coolie Town, etc., they kept in touch with India through the visiting religious leaders and Indian commissioners maintaining their cultural traditions and old values.

Rice and sugar cultivation (*ketari* or *ukha*) were major factors in the persistence of Indian culture and in the maintenance of the social structure.[37] Inded,these two had been the main crops in U. P. and Bihar since

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37. Klass, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

very ancient times. The very word 'sugar' is a corruption of the Sanskrit word 'śarkarā' and Hindi word 'shakar', and Alexander the Great, is said to have been surprised to see this in India for the first time. Rice, on the other hand, had been a staple food in many parts of North India since pre-historic times. Also, rice has been a very sacred thing for Hindu rituals.[38]

In Uttar Pradesh and Bihar the people were familiar with *jhils* (swamps) and therefore they had no difficulty in raising paddy in the swamps of Caroni and Nariwa and the lagoon of Oropouche. They brought the knowledge of small-scale irrigation with river or well-water to raise vegetables.[39] In 1891, says Comins, 78.33 per cent of Indian population in Trinidad belonged to the agricultural profession. Even now in spite of industrialisation and urbanisation the position has not changed much.

From their land of origin the Indians brought the concept of a self-sufficient village with a *panchāyat*[40] (tribunal of usually five village elders) deciding their disputes. They also brought the concept of joint-

38. Niehoff, Arthur and Juanita, op. cit., pp. 34-35. Donald wood (op. cit., p. 276) says that the Indians did not like to eat hill paddy and 'in the new villages' they 'took enthusiastically to the growing of wet rice'.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 36: Vegetable or kitchen gardens are common among Indians.

40. See W. H. Wiser and C. V. Wiser, *Behind Mud Walls, 1930-1960*, Berkeley, 2nd ed., 1964, pp. 22-23. Also see *Gazetteer of India*, 1965, vol. I, Delhi, p. 563 for *Caste panchayats*.

(extended) family, 'joint in food, worship and estate'- one economic unit under the common shelter of which children and grand-children would work for the economic betterment of the family[41] on the basis of 'from each according to his capacity, to each according to his needs'. The remnants of this system can be seen even now in the Indian community of Trinidad.

In the late nineteenth century some features of rural leadership. which existed in North India could be seen in Trinidad. Indian villages-pandits, money-lenders and land-holders having a say in the important matters of the community.[42] In many cases the Sardars, Maits, Overseers and even drivers of the estates had become prominent in the society on the strength of their newly acquired wealth.

In the indenture days a Madrasi and a Kalkatiya or even a Bihari (from Bihar) and a person from West U.P. (Pachhāh) would cut jokes with each other regarding each other's way of life. Some would use the *Nāgarī* script, others would use *Kaithī* or Persian. But there was no animosity against each other. With the emergence of electoral politics in the twentieth century, however, castes (*jāt* or *jāti*), religion (*dharma*), and regional feelings were exploited in the same way as in India. Even the feeling of Hindu-Muslim separateness was on occasions emphasised. The Hindus who had been a majority community in U. P. and Bihar became

41. See Radhakamal Mukerjee, *The Foundations of Indian Economics*, London, 1916, pp. 2-4.

42. See H. Calvert, *The Wealth and Welfare of the Panjab*, Lahore, 1922, pp. 37-39.

more and more inward-looking for they were now a minority, and they did not produce any eminent leader before the 1920's.

The social and cultural organisation among the Indians of Trinidad have largely been moulded on Indian pattern: the East Indian Congress of the past, fighting for the marriage and other rights of Hindus and Muslims; the Ārya Pratinidhi Sabhā starting as a branch of the Arya Samaj of India, the Kabir-panth and Shewnarine panth getting their inspiration from the parent organisations in India. The Sanātan Dharma Mahasabha seems to have been inspired by the Hindu Mahasabha and Jan Sangh of India, with the difference that the Trinidad organisation is concerned with religious, educational and cultural functions also.

The Muslims and a few others brought to Trinidad Urdu which had developed as a camp language in medieval India; it differed little from Hindustani or Hindi of towns except in script. The language of the vast majority of Indians in Trinidad, however, has been Hindi and its dialects of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, derived from the Indo Aryan group of Languages. It is still a living second language in the rural areas where Indians live. According to the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* of 1908 the central portion of the Gangetic plain of U. P. roughly bounded

43. The East Indian National Association (like its counterpart in India) was loyal to the British Crown but, as its president R. J. Nanco said in April 1898, it would fight in a constitutional and peaceful way (like the Indian National Congress of India) for the protection of rights of 80,000 Indians in Trinindad; *Port of Spain Gazette*, 8 and 10 April 1898.

by a line drawn north and south through the town of Bāndā on the west and a parallel line through Mirzapur on the east, the Eastern Hindi (pūrvī or Awadhi) was spoken by about 15 million people, and 21 million to the west of this area spoke western Hindi (mainly vrajabhāsha). In the eastern part of the plain, 10 million people spoke Bihari (Bhojpuri dialect), but the official Language was Hindustani, a dialect of western Hindi. The *kharī Bolī* as prose, developod around 1803 as a link Language for North Indian cities and now the State language of India, was not very popular yet. The language of West Bihar was also Bhojpuri, but the Muhammadans and kayasthas (scribes) spoke Awadhi or Urdu.

It is true that Magahi (Magadhi) of Patna, Gaya and North Hazaribagh districts of Bihar, Maithili of North Bihar, Bengali of Bengal, Oriya of Orissa, Assamese of Assam, the tribal languages of the Mundas and Oraons of Chota-Nagpur, Tamil of Madras, Telugu of Andhra Pradesh, Malayalam of Kerala and a few other Indian languages were also brought to Trinidad. But the dominant languages among the Indians in Trinidad have been Vrajabhāshā (Paśchimī Hindi), Awadhi (Pūrvī Hindi and Bhojpuri and among the old surviving Indians of Trinidad, Bhojpuri is the most popular spoken language. In the folk and ritual songs (*sohar* and others) also either of the three dialects can be seen. The most common form of greeting among old and middle-aged Indians is 'Sita-Rama', and the Sanskrit words 'Namaste' or Namaskār are confined to the Aryas and a few others. '*Kaisan hāl*' for 'how are you' is the most common form of asking one's welfare.

As in U. P. and Bihar, *roṭi*, *bhāt*, (rice), *kohra* (pumpkin), *dal* (lentils) *bhaji*, *chatni or achar* or *kuchala* are daily items of food and *karhi*; *dalpuri*, *khir*, *dahi*, *soharī* and *tarkari* (vegetables) like, *āloo* (Irishpotato), etc. are special dishes among Indians in Trinidad. Mustard oil (*sarso tel*) and *ghee* are also used as cooking media in some affluent homes. In 1858 the use of biscuit in place of *chura* (flake rice) and *chana* (gram)[43] was said to be the cause of bowel trouble among Indians on the ships. Things have changed a good deal since then and *Chura* is now available only in some villages in south Trinidad, but *chana* continues to hold its own. Old Indian sweets like *laddu*, *jilebī* (*jalebī*), *khurmā*, *gaza* and *gulāb-jamān* sell in some markets and there are a few professional *halwais* (makers of Indian sweets) of the old type.

Masālās (spices) like *hardi* (turmeric, called saffron in Trinidad), *methī*, *dhaniā* (coriander), *long* (cloves), *elāyachī* (cardamom), *dālchīnī*, *mangarail*, etc., are also sold on some markets. Utensils like *lota* (waterpot, usually of brass), *thariā* (plate) *bāṭi* (cup), *chholanī*. *orāka kalaśa*, *bālṭi* (bucket) etc. are even now used, but, gradually china crockery is taking the place of brass utensils and in many homes some of these are needed in rituals and ceremonies only. The *chūlhā* (earthen cooking furnace) is in use on the occasion of *bhaṇḍārā* (community feeding).

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43. Public Record, London, C. O. 318/220, p. 78. On the ship the following provisions were supplied: rice, *dal*, *ghee*, turmeric, onion, tobacco, chillies, saltfish, blackpepper, mustard seed, garlic (*lahsun*), coriander seeds, *churā*, *but* (gram), sugar, etc., and sometimes goat meat : vide J. A. Weller, *The East Indian Indenture in Trinidad*, Puerto Rico, 1968, p. 143.

Words like *agua* for match-makers, *ojhā* Indian obeahman); *prajā* (for, *yajmān*, the patron of *pandits* usually called mahāraj in Trinidad), *churail* and *bhūt* (ghost and spirit), kohabar (specially decorated room for married-couple), *maravā* (bamboo-made shade for wedding) *lāthī* (stick) etc., can be heard in the rurals areas. The sacred tulsi plant can be seen in many Hindu homes and Hanumān-chālisa' is read to ward off evils. Even *bhaikh* or kaṇṭhì of Tulsi wood is worn in the neck by some Vaishnavas.

Older members of the Hindu families in Trinidad still bound by Indian traditon, spending their declining years on the study of *Gītā*, the *Upaniṣads* etc. Religion as the predominant element in Indian culture, has been well-maintained.

The Indian tradition of *sādhu* and *sanyās* is also continuing to some extent. Even *sādhuayins* (lady sadhu) are known. Dr. Vincent Tothill mentions that in 1930' s, he met a 'magnificent Hindu' *yogī*, who surprised him by some of his feats.[44] One Kolahal Das (formerly Dayaram, born in India around 1900 A. D.) a saint and mystic in *Caroni*, was a well-known figure for his great *sādhanā* (meditation) and *siddhi* (spiritual achievement). However, a reformer like Raja Ramamohan Roy or Swami Vivekananda, a mystic saint of

44. *Doctor's Office*, London, 1939, pp. 105 and 107-8. The *Port of Spain Gazette* (25 Aug. 1897) mentiona a *Yajña* 'in fulfilment of a vow' by a shopkeeper in Tacarigua, conducted by a *Sādhu* in pink robes with beads hung round his neck, reading Hindu sacred books in Sanskrit.

45. Klass, *op. cit.*, pp. 104 and 107.

the stature of Aurobindo or Ramakrishna or a great sufi has not yet emerged among Trinidad Indians.

Dudh-bhai (brother because of sucking the same milk) and the 'bhai' (brother) relationship among people living in the same village are the legacies from the Gangetic plain of North India. But the *jahāji bhai* (brother on account of travelling on the same boat) was developed in the new circumstances.

Rāmalīlā, which used to be the greatest festival in U.P. in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century[46], was enacted in Trinidad from 1890s, but now it is reduced to a rather unimportant place because Holi (*phagawā*) and Diwālī appeal more to the people used to carnival and funfare than the enactment of old religious dramas, emphasising the victory of the good over the evil.

Hindu food taboo is gradually being relaxed in Trinidad as in the urban areas of India and the reverence to cow is not so deep as in the rural areas of India, but eating of beef, pork and even chicken is still repugnant to many. Among the Muslims, the taboo on some meat and drinks continues in some homes.

Modern Indian girls now prefer shortcut hair, shorter and tight-fitting dress rather than the loose traditional ones. Exogamous marriages are becoming common because marriage within a caste is not always possible. Marriages are no longer performed at night according to an auspicious *lagna* (planetary position).

46. *Imperial Gazetteer of India, op. cit.*, vol. XXIV, p. 175.

Sindoor (vermillion) is not used by married Hindu women on the parting of their hair nor can *missi* on the teeth, *mehdī* for colour on hand, *godanā* (tattoo-mark) on arm and ornaments on nose,[47] ear, neck, hands and feet be seen here. The *gotra* (an exogamous sect of the Brāhmaṇas) is now almost unknown among Hindus of Trinidad; only a few older Brāhmaṇas can tell their gotra.[48]

The thrift and simple living of the older Indians—a legacy from their place of origin—are also gradually disappearing under the impact of westernization. The *Churki* (*śikhā* or pigtail) and *tilaka* (caste mark on forehead) are also gone, as in Indian towns. But some of the sixteen *samskāras* (saceramante), like those

47. *Mantīkā*, *hasulī*, *lolak*, *nathiā*, and other North Indian ornaments are even now known to people. For nose-ornaments, the most popular name among Trinidad Indians has been *nath* (nose ring) used in U. P., Bihar, Rajputana, etc., *nathiya* (used in Bihar and Sindh), *nathni* (in Rajputana, U. P. and Bihar), *bulak* (U. P., Bihar, etc.), *nāk-besar* (of U. P. and Bihar) and *chhuchchhi* (of Bihar). See 'The use of Nose Ornaments in India', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, vol. XXIII, 1927, no. 3. Also see Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 50: An Indian shopkeeper's wife in Trinidad in 1868 had "seventeen bracelets of silver and one of gold on each arm; these were mostly of solidmetal, two of them being very massive and of fine workmanship. Around her neck were thirteen silver neck ornaments, mostly solid, some being as much as three-quarters of an inch square in the front and tapering toward the back of the neck".

48. See Hutton. *op. cit.*, pp. 47, 55, 62 and 131. Also A. L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, 1971, p. 140: The brahmaṇas of the later Vedic period were divided into exogamous sects *gotra*). a system which was copied in part by other classes and has survived to the present day".

connected with birth (*chhaṭṭhi*[49] and *barahi*) and death and *pitṛ-tarpaṇa* are observed in many Hindu homes. Even *muṇḍana* (hair-cutting ceremony of a boy at the age of three or five), the *janeu* or *yajñopavīta* (sacred thread or initiation) and *guru-mukha* (giving of the sacred *mantra* by the *guru* to the *chela* (disciple) are performed.

Brāhmaṇas are even now, among the Hindus, in Trinidad, like the Catholic Church in the Middle Ages, the repositories of one of the oldest language, Sanskrit, and of the sacred lore and literature. They have made the conservation of Hindu religion possible. The Maulavis among the Muslims have done the same. As the Shias, Sunnis and Bahais have their religious heads, so the Sanatanis have their *dharmāchārya*, and kabirpanthis and Seunarainis their *mahanthas*. A *Hājī* (one who has done a pilgrimage to the sacred Macca and Medina) is as much respected as a Hindu, who has visited the sacred places of his religion in India.

Yoga, one of the six systems of salvation for the Hindus with the *Yogasūtras* (aphorisms) of the ancient Indian thinker, Patañjali, is known to some Indians in Trinidad. With the creation of a new interest in the West in the *Haṭhayoga* (yoga of the force), a few centres have recently been opened in Trinidad for imparting instructions in this branch of yogic exereises and even some non-Indians are benefited by the basic *āsanas* (postures).

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49. On the worship of Goddess Shaṣṭhi (Chhathi) see the *Gazetteer of India*: Indian Union, vol. I, 1965, p. 587.

Thus Indian heritage in Trinidad seems to have been largely retained and some of the facets of Indian culture which had been swept away by the flood of Westernization or modernization are being revived. Some Indian festivals are now a part of Trinidad's way of life and a few Indian items of food have become national dishes.[50] The followers of Hinduism and Islam take pride in their traditional institutions and religious beliefs as never before.[51]

Several factors seem to have contributed to this cultural persistence and renaissance. First, the inner vitality of the Indian culture, which had evolved in the Indian sub-continent 'as a result of observation, study and experiment[52] and had survived innumerable challenges from foreign invaders, stood in good stead for the Indian immigrants in Trinidad. Secondly, the idea of colonial emigration evolved by the Europeans in the nineteenth century was alien to the Indians who always wanted to maintain their traditional society with its own ways and norms. Thirdly, no serious attempt was ever made in Trinidad to integrate the Indians into the already divided society: in fact, the Indians were treated as intruders in the labour market and their language, religion, dress, food and values were mocked at.

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50. Many roadside *roṭī* shops can be seen.

51. Y. K. Malik, *East Indians in Trinidad*: a study in Minority politics, London, 1971, p. 7.

52. *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Ram Krishna Mission, Institute of Culture, Calcutta, 2nd edition, 1958, vol. I, p. ix.

In the early days of indenture the Indians were looked upon as transients, protected by the planters and the colonial government and assaults on them by non-Indians was rather common. Later when their number increased and they were encouraged to own land and develop their villages, not a single non-Indian could be seen in these settlements. Professional or occupational segregation and an attitude of derision towards them naturally created in the Indians a sense of exclusiveness which was sometimes aggravated by some journalists, Government officers, planters and even clergymen. The 'East Indian' could not be at par with the 'West Indian', for the former had to carry a passport, was denied full citizenship rights and modern education and was treated as a stranger, a 'heathen' or 'barbarian'. Even though the Indians, as agriculturists, had aided 'materially in the development of the Colony' and contributed 'to the revenue as taxpayers', lamented the Indian leader George Fitzpatrick in 1909, they were 'subjected to a special law which did not apply to West Indians and they were punished as ordinary criminals for the breach of a civil contract'.[53]

Left to their fate, the Indians revived their traditional social stratification, contented in their own small world, with no interest in national affairs. They would of course tell their children in the-evening tales

53. *Sanderson Committee Report*, vol. III (papers laid before it), pp. 138-139. Fitzpatrick demanded an Indian representative in the Trinidad Council in 1909 and in 1912 he was the first Indian to be nominated to it.

from their epics, inspiring them through the exploits of Rāma of the *Rāmāyaṇa* or Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas of the *Mahābhārata*.

By the time the indenture ended, the Indians in Trinidad constituted one-third of the population and a middle class of intellectuals emerged to lead them. Their socio-political and religious organisations became active and in early 1920s, they demanded a proportional representation for their community in the Legislative Council. By 1930s they became more vocal in airing their grievances. There was a separate club for Indians called India Club in port-of-Spain. The source of inspiration for Indians in Trinidad was undoubtedly the nationalist movement in India, their ideals were Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru and their national song was 'Bande Mātaram' (Hail Motherland of Bankim Chandra's *Anand Math*), an Indian counterpart of *La Merseillaise*. The wealthy Indians visited India from time to time and felt proud in meeting eminent personalities there.[55] They also contributed generoualy to the Bengal Relief Fund in 1943-44. The enquiry into the condition of the Indians in Trinidad by Surgeon-Major Comins in 1891, the Sanderson Committee in 1909, James McNeil and Chimmanlal in

54. M. J. Kirpalani, et al., The *Indian Centenary Review of Trinidad*, 1845-1945, port-of-Spain 1945, pp. 141-169. Mahatma Gandhi sent a telegram of good wishes to the Indian Centenary celebration in 1945. The birthday of Gandhi and the death anniversary of Tagore used to be celebrated in Trinidad.

1913 and J. D. Tyson in 1939 on behalf of the Government of India and later the visits of Diwan Bahadur Kesava Pillai, the Indian Commissioner in 1922, Sir Kunwer Maharaj Singh, Indian Commissioner in 1925, and some eminent Indians like Dr. D. P. Pandya and pandit Hridayanath Kunzru and some religious missionaries in early 1940s maintained a link between the Indians in Trinidad and their mother country.

The independence of India in 1947 and the inauguration of the Republic of India in 1950 were celebrated with jubilation by the Indians of Trinidad. Now that their mother country was free they would not suffer from an inferiority complex. Soon new Indian youth and other organisations were set up, Hindu and Muslim schools started teaching Hindi, Urdu and religion. The visits of Hindu and Muslim religious preachers and artistes from the Indian sub-continent from time to time and the regular exhibition of Indian films and Indian shows on the local radio and television have led to an unusual Indian cultural revival. Indeed, in the post independence period Trinidad has given formal recognition to the Indian cultural element in its society. Indian history and culture is taught on the St. Augustine campus of the University of the West Indies, the students of Caribbean studies write B. A. essays on Indian Culture in this region, some of the Indian festivals are celebrated on the campus and Hindi and Urdu are taught at various centres in the

country. All these indicate that the Indian heritage in Trinidad is maintained and it will continue to exist in future.

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55. In 1897-98 the Indians of Trinidad under the leadership of Rev. Lal Behari contributed to the Indian Famine Relief Fund. Recently they contributed to the Bihar Famine Relief Fund in 1967 and to the Bangla Desh Refugee Fund in 1971.

आख्ययामिनी की हस्तलिखित प्रति :

एक विवरण

जीवेश्वर झा*

आख्ययामिनी नृपति शम्भुचन्द्र की आज्ञा से श्री जगद्‍बन्धु विप्र द्वारा अनूदित १९वीं शताब्दी की रचना है। रचना की एक प्रति प्रयाग के गंगानाथ झा केन्द्रीय संस्कृत विद्यापीठ में संरक्षित है। ग्रन्थ देवनागरी लिपि में लिखा हुआ है तथा इसमें कुल ३८१ पत्रक हैं। प्रस्तुत ग्रन्थ अच्छी रक्षणस्थिति में है एवं सुस्पष्ट अक्षरों में लिखा हुआ है। इस पत्राकार ग्रन्थ के कुछ पत्रक सामान्य क्षतिग्रस्त हैं। लेखक ने सर्वप्रथम जनार्दन, महेश्वर तथा लम्बोदर को नमस्कार कर पद्यबद्ध मङ्गलाचरण प्रस्तुत किया है तथा वेदान्तविषयक अद्वैत शिव ब्रह्म की स्तुति की है।

शान्तन्तुरीयमद्वैतं शिवं ब्रह्मसनातनम्।
अनन्तं चिन्मयं नौमि सान्द्रानन्दं परात्परम् ॥१॥

साथ ही सृष्टिकर्त्री चिन्मयी देवी की स्तुति की है जिसका सहज हाथ इस कठिनतम कार्य में है। इस प्रसङ्ग में एक श्लोक है—

यां संस्मृत्य महेश्वरः पुरहरः संहारकार्येश्वरः
स्वात्मानन्दमयीं नमामि शुभदां सर्वेश्वरीं चिन्मयीम् ॥३॥

इसी तरह सूर्य, राम, कृष्ण (श्यामसुन्दर), राधा आदि की वन्दना करते हुए कार्य सफलता की कामना की है। तत्पश्चात् लेखक ने अपने 'कीर्तिचन्द्रोदय' नामक ग्रन्थ में वर्णित नृप के आदेश से विक्रमपुर में रहकर प्रस्तुत रचना को सम्पादित करने की बात कही है, जो पद्यबद्ध रूप में इस प्रकार है—

तस्यास्मिन् महिमानं किं वर्णयामि कियन्नतिः
कीर्तिचन्द्रोदयग्रन्थे वर्णितं प्राग् यथामति ॥
तस्य भूपतिवर्य्यस्य कृपावृन्दवशम्वदः
आदेशेन समभ्यास्मिन् विक्रमाख्यपुरात् स्थितः ॥

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*सहायक—सङ्ग्रहाध्यक्ष, गंगानाथ झा केन्द्रीय संस्कृत विद्यापीठ, इलाहाबाद।

कथारम्भ से पहले लेखक ने गुरू की कृपा की आकांक्षा की है ।

नृपादेशरूपं सहायं समभ्याद् न भि (वि?) ज्ञोहमस्मिन्प्रवर्तो यतः स्य (म्) ।

अतः पण्डिता मे प्रसन्ना भवन्तु मृषा किन्न कुर्वन्ति चेद्भूपवाचः ।।

श्री गुरोः करुणासद्वाङ्मयवाक्यादियं भुवि ।

आरब्ययामिनी भातु जनमोदविवर्द्धिका ।।

प्रस्तुत ग्रन्थ में गद्य और पद्य दोनों का समान रूप से प्रयोग किया गया है। इसमें कुल ५५ सर्ग हैं जो एक खण्ड में हैं। पुष्पिका के अन्त में ५ पत्रक हैं जिसमें सम्पूर्ण वर्णित कथाओं की सूची दी गई है।

प्रस्तुत ग्रन्थ अरबी भाषा में लिखित 'अल-किताब अलिफ लैला व लैला'-जो "अरेबियन नाइट्स" के नाम से प्रख्यात है, के कथावस्तु को लेकर लेखक ने अपनी रुचि के अनुसार संस्कृत भाषा में मौलिक ढंग से लिखा है। ग्रन्थ पढ़ने से स्पष्ट होता है कि मूल ग्रन्थ के कथावस्तु का उपयोग किया गया है परन्तु यह उसका भाषान्तर रूप नहीं है। इसे मूल ग्रन्थ का छायारूप मान सकते हैं।

कृष्णमाचार्य महोदय ने[1] जगद्बन्धु विरचित 'आरब्ययामिनी' की चर्चा की है परन्तु इसके मुद्रित होने की बात नहीं कही है।

"न्यू कैटेलागस् कैटेलागोरम्", मद्रास यूनिवर्सिटी, में इस ग्रन्थ की चर्चा है तथा उसमें यह संदर्भ दिया गया है कि यह "अरेबियन नाइट्स" का संस्कृत रूप है। साथ ही जगद्बन्धु विरचित उक्त ग्रन्थ कलकत्ता संस्कृत पुस्तकालय में[2] तथा कलकत्ता के ही सम्भ्रान्त व्यक्ति श्री राजेन्द्र लाल मित्र जी के व्यक्तिगत पुस्तकालय में[3] क्रम से उपलब्ध है तथा उसमें ५० सर्ग हैं। जर्नल आफ संस्कृत साहित्य परिषद्, कलकत्ता के १७वें भाग में इस ग्रन्थ के विषय में एक शोधपूर्ण निबन्ध देखने को मिलता है तथा जिसमें मूल ग्रन्थ का अनुवाद विश्व की विभिन्न भाषाओं में उपलब्ध होने की चर्चा की गई है। डा० सुनीति कुमार चटर्जी ने अपने एक शोधपूर्ण निबन्ध[4] में "आरब्ययामिनी" की चर्चा की है तथा उनका कहना है कि इसकी तुलना

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1. History of Classical Sanskrit literature, p. 423.
2. CS., VI, 163 (MS. & 1299 Sal ?)
3. (MS. & A. D. 8718)
4. The Indo- Asian Culture, Vol. IX (3), 1961; The world Classic : The Arabian Nights.

महाभारत एवं पुराणों से की जाती है और इस ग्रन्थ का अनुवाद भारत की विभिन्न भाषाओं में उपलब्ध होता है।[1]

इस प्रकार हम देखते हैं—कि 'आरव्ययामिनी' की चर्चा कतिपय विद्वानों ने की है परन्तु उक्त ग्रन्थ का सर्वाङ्गीण अध्ययन या प्रकाशित रूप देखने को नहीं मिलता है। "अरेवियन नाइट्स" का अनुवाद विश्व की विभिन्न भाषाओं रूसी, जर्मन, फ्रेंच आदि में पाया जाता है, परन्तु प्रस्तुत "आरव्ययामिनी" ग्रन्थ अपने आपमें महत्त्वपूर्ण प्रतीत होता है क्योंकि मूल ग्रन्थ का अनुवाद अभी तक जितनी भाषाओं में मिलता है, वह सब उसका भाषा रूपान्तर ही है। डा० चटर्जी महोदय का कहना है कि "अलिफ लैला" का अनुवाद विभिन्न भाषाओं में मुद्रित रूप में मिलता है परन्तु संस्कृत भाषा में अनूदित इस ग्रन्थ के मुद्रित होने की चर्चा नहीं की है।

अतः गवेषणात्मक दृष्टिकोण से यदि इस ग्रन्थ का अवलोकन किया जाय तो शोध कर्त्ताओं के लिये यह अत्यन्त उपादेय सिद्ध हो सकता है। संस्कृत भाषा में यह ग्रन्थ अपना महत्त्वपूर्ण स्थान रखता है। इसका प्रकाशन होना अत्यावश्यक और उपयुक्त है क्योंकि विद्वान लेखक ने मूल की रक्षा करते हुए भी इसे उत्कृष्ट मौलिक रूप प्रदान कर अपनी विद्वत्ता का परिचय दिया है। यद्यपि लिपिकार की असावधानी से अशुद्धियाँ भी देखने को मिलती हैं, तथापि भाषा, शैली-प्रतिपादन आदि के दृष्टिकोण से संस्कृत साहित्य के क्षेत्र में इस पर ध्यान देना युक्तियुक्त होगा।

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1. "In India, in our Indian Languages we knew it as *Āravya Rajani* or *Āravya upanyāsa*", (Ref. page 143, October, IX, No. 2) इसी प्रकार वे आगे कहते हैं--"The Arabian Nights stories were also popularised in India by means of translation and adaptations in the Indian languages like Bengali and Hindustani." पृ० १५८

ग्रन्थ का आदि—

ॐ नमो श्री महागणाधीशाय नमः । ॐ तत्सत् ।

शान्तन्तुरीयमद्वैतं शिवं ब्रह्म सनातनम् ।
अनन्तं चिन्मयं नौमि सान्द्रानन्दं परात्परम् ॥१॥

सान्द्रानन्दप्रदा या कलुषचयहरा भ्रामरी पीठसंस्था
त्रिस्रोतस्तीरगेहा निखिलभयहरा भीमरूपा सुरूपा ।
भूगोलोकाभिधानं नरपतिनगरं सर्वतः पाति पूर्णा
तस्या आनन्दमय्याः पदकमलयुगेऽभीष्टसिद्ध्यै स्मरामः ॥२॥

यामाराध्य पितामहस्त्रिजगतामुत्पत्तिकार्य्ये विभु-
र्यां सञ्चिन्त्य जनार्द्दनस्तनुभृतां सम्पालनाकौशलः ।
यां संस्मृत्य महेश्वरः पुरहरः संहारकार्य्येश्वर-
स्त्वामानन्दमयीं नमामि शुभदां सर्वेश्वरीं चिन्मयीम् ॥३॥

ई श्यामसुन्दरमनन्तमनन्तमायं
भूपालरम्यनगरे ह्यपरावतारम् ।
ज्ञानस्वरूपमपि बुद्धिविवर्द्धकं यं
तं पालतोऽविरतमत्र समाश्रयेहम् ॥४॥

……………………………

अपारशास्त्रसागरं निमथ्य भूपतिर्महान्
वचोऽमृतं निरन्तरं पिवत्यशेषशेमुषिः ।
अतोऽत्र हर्षसंयुतो विशेषपण्डितैश्च यः
अनन्ततन्त्रसंचयान् विधापयेत्तु संस्कृतैः ॥२२॥

तस्यास्मिन् महिमानं किं वर्णयामि कियन्मतिः ।
कीर्तिचन्द्रोदयग्रंथे वर्णितं प्राग् यथामति ॥२३॥

तस्य भूपतिवर्यस्य कृपावृन्दवशम्वदः ।
आदेशेन समस्या(मेत्या)स्मिन् विक्रमाख्यपुरात्स्थितः ॥२४॥

श्रीजगद्बन्धुविप्रोऽहं राज्ञाज्ञप्तः प्रवर्त्तितः ।
सन्दर्भवचने तस्मिन् निर्ल्लज्जतयेव साम्प्रतम् ॥२५॥

य: शास्त्रत्र(स्त्र)ज्ञविदाम्वरो नरवर: सश्रीकविद्याधरो ।
यस्या सान्नरवच्च परिषत् सत्यंन्नुतैर्म्मंण्डिता (?) ॥
तस्यान्तस्य च वर्णने वहुविवैर्गद्यैश्च पद्यैर्यत:
संदर्भस्य प्रवर्त्तितो मम समो मन्दाक्षरान् क: पर: ॥२६॥
नृपादेशरूपं सहायंसमभ्याद्न भि(वि)ज्ञोहमस्मिन् प्रवृत्तो यत: स्याम् ।
अत: पण्डिता मे प्रसन्ना भवन्तु मृषा किन्न कुर्वन्ति चेद्भूपवाच: ॥२७॥
श्रीगुरो: करुणासद्वाङ्मयवाक्यादियं भुवि ।
आरव्ययामिनी भातु जनामोदविवर्द्धिका ॥२८॥

कथारम्भ में—

(गद्य)

पुराकिलाशेषशस्यस्समवायसंयुतसुशोभितविलसितकुसुमकुलचलितमधुव्रतसञ्चय-मञ्जुलगुञ्जितभाषितमनोरञ्जितकोकिलकुललपितजनितश्रुतिशांतसन्ध्या न विविध-धनिजनगणपत्तननिर्म्मलहर्म्म्यसन्दोहव्यक्तनिशानाथज्योत्स्नाजालनानाविधमहीरुह — समूहमञ्जुलफलसकलसुन्दरसौन्दर्य्यशौर्य्यवीर्य्यगाम्भीर्य्यधैर्य्यसंयुतसकलजनजालभूपित-वालिश्यदूष्मान्वितमानवरहितपारस्यप्रदेशे निखिलनरपतिकुलनयनकमलपूजितचरण-युगलदुर्ज्जनगहनगणदहनदावानलप्रकाण्डदोर्द्दण्डप्रतापपरिपूरितयशोजालभूमण्डलप्रति-पक्षदनुजदलदलनपुरन्दरपराक्रमसुमतिविविधवुधमनोरञ्जननिर्ज्जरकुञ्जरपुञ्जपूजित — जगदीशचरणारविन्दद्वन्द्वस्यन्दमकरन्दवृन्दपानानन्दितमनोमान्यधन्यवरेण्यवदान्यशरेण्य: स सेनीयेनो ॥१॥

(पद्य)

यथा रामचन्द्रस्य राज्येऽधिकारे सदा सत्प्रजानां महानन्दभोग: ।
यथा दुर्ज्जनानां भवेद्दु:खलाभस्तथास्याधिकारेभवन्मानवानाम् ॥२९॥
विलोक्य लोका: क्षितिपालबालकौ न मन्यमाना: किलके क्षिताविह[?] ।
दिवाकराचन्द्रमसौ नृपालये विपद्विहायानिशमत्र राजि(ज)तौ ॥३०॥
परस्प ं स्नेहयुतौ पुरा यथा विराजतौ लक्ष्मणराघवौ भुवि ।
मुहूर्त्तमेकं यदि चापर: परं न वीक्षिते तत्र भवेत्तु दु:खित: ॥३१॥
ज्येष्ठो जनो यदि निर्गुणस्यात्तथापि मान्यो गुणवत् कनिष्ठै: ।
प्रसिद्धमेतत् खलु सर्वशास्त्रे उक्तश्च तातस्य समो ग्रजेस: ॥३२॥

अपि च—

श्रीरामचन्द्रस्य च पादुकायुगं संगृह्य राज्यं भव(र तः पुराकरोत् ।
सिंहासनस्थं सततं समीक्ष्य सः ज्ञात्वाग्रजं वानुमतिं च याचते ॥३३॥

अपरश्च—

भीमार्ज्जुनौ शक्रसमौ युधिष्ठिरं निरन्तरन्तातसमम्विविच्यतौ ।
विजित्य राज्यं प्रतिपक्षनाशनात् राज्याभिषिक्तं कुरुतः पुरा मुदा ॥३४॥
रम्यं हर्म्यतलं नराश्च वहुशो वीर्य्यान्विताः पण्डिताः
नानाशस्यसमूहपुत्रनिकरैर्व्याप्ता च विश्वम्भरा ।
धर्म्मध्यानदयाधनादिसकले लोके सदा राजति
मिथ्याभाषणनिन्दनादि कलुषोत्पत्तिर्न्निरस्ता नरे ॥३५॥

ग्रन्थ का अन्त—

(पद्य)

मेघाच्छादितचन्द्रमाःपरिगते मेघे यथा भान्वितो
भायान्निर्मलरूपतो जनगणस्यामोदमावर्द्धयन् ।
तद्वत्ते वनितं विहाय सहसा कुक्कुरकायत्तदा
आसीत्कान्तिसमन्विते रतिपतेः कान्तोपमे सर्वथा ॥
प्रभवति मतिरेषा ते विलोक्यात्र भूमौ
भवत इह किमेवं कामिनीनां वरेण्ये ।
जलनिधितनुजायाः कान्तकान्ति प्रहृत्य
प्रसभमभि सुभूते दर्शकानां तदानीम् ॥
रमण्या धवः स्याद्गुरुः [?] सर्वतन्त्रे प्रसिद्धमतं भाति राजन् सुधीनां ।
तत्तत्साम्य एवान्यमान्यो वरेण्यो धरण्यां रमण्याः प्रभावात् कथञ्चित् ॥
तदन्ते मृषा वाक्प्रयोगे प्रगाढं
भवेत्पायमेव मतं पण्डितानाम् ।
भवन्नन्दनस्तद्यथायुक्तदण्डं
प्रचक्रे तदानीं मनुष्या महीष्या ॥

(गद्य)

अतस्तस्य च युवराजस्य च दण्डविधानं नैव भवता कर्त्तव्यम् । सा च परोनृपति सन्निधाने एवम्विधवहुविधवचनप्रयोगपूर्वकं भूपत्यभिवादनं विधाय नृप-

निकटे विहाय मा गृह्य । चकार तत् स्थानात् चपलं चपलाया इव प्रस्थानमिति स च महाराजो हारुनलरसीदस्तत् [?] सर्वमद्भुतेति वृत्तमाकर्ण्य एवन्तत्क्षणात्तयोः कुक्कुर-कायधारिण्यो रमण्यो रूपान्तरप्रापणासन्दर्शनं कृत्वा ॥ अपि चामिन्या वक्षःस्थल-संस्थित क्षतलक्षणास्यालक्षभवनं समीक्ष्य आसीत्सातिशयविस्मयसञ्चयसमन्वितः ॥ अकाण्डधरणीतले भवति तस्य भूपस्य भो मनुष्यनिवहैः सदा प्रथितकीर्तिसत्कीर्ति-तम् ॥ नृपस्य विमलयशो लसति नाथ नित्यं यथा सुपर्णरजनीपतिः राहृदि[?]भाति निःसन्निभः वरा श्रीमत् श्रीशम्भुचन्द्रो नरपतितिलकः सर्वदेश—प्रसिद्धं काकी-नापीनगर्य्यां विलसति सुकृती योतिधीमान् वरीयान् स्मारं स्मारं तदाज्ञी तदनु तं ।

पुष्पिका

ईति मुदा श्री जगद्वन्धुविप्रो विज्ञोस्याः पुस्तिकाया निज गुणवशतः क्षामये दोप संघान् । इत्यारब्ययामिन्यां सहरीयारसहर्ज्वादिसम्वादे प्रथमखण्डं समाप्त-न्नाम पञ्चपञ्चाशत्तमः सर्गः ।
संमत् १६४०, मिति कुआर सुकुल पक्ष ॥५०॥

विवरण

ग्रन्थनाम—आरब्ययामिनी
ग्रन्थकार—जगद्वन्धु
लिपिकाल—संवत् १६४० (ए० डी० १८८३)
लिपि—देवनागरी
ग्रन्थ-स्थिति—उत्तम, प्रथम खण्ड, पूर्ण
पत्रक—३७६ + ५
संग्रहस्थान—गंगानाथ झा केन्द्रीय संस्कृत विद्यापीठ, प्रयाग—२ ।

केशवमिश्रस्तस्य गौतमीयसूत्रप्रकाशश्च

डा० किशोरनाथ झा*

न्यायदर्शनस्य व्याख्याधारा सरणिद्वयमवलम्ब्य प्रवहति। गौतमीयसूत्राणामभिप्रायावबोधाय भाष्यं वार्तिकं तात्पर्यटीका परिशुद्धिश्च सरणिमेकामवलम्ब्य प्रवर्तमाना न्यायचतुर्ग्रन्थिकारूपेण प्रथिताः सन्ति। पुनरस्या न्यायचतुर्ग्रन्थिकायाः व्याख्यात्मकः वर्धमानोपाध्यायस्य न्यायनिबन्धप्रकाशः, अभयतिलकाचार्यस्य न्यायलङ्कारश्च दृश्येते। विवरणपञ्जिकायां भाष्यवार्तिकतात्पर्यटीकाशयपरिष्कारविधौ पटीयानयं वृद्धोऽनिरुद्धाचार्यः उदयनाचार्यसमये लब्धप्रतिष्ठोऽप्यधुना प्रयत्नोपलभ्यपरिचयः धाराया अस्याः परिपोषक आसीत्। उदयनाचार्यस्तु नैयायिकादस्मादनिरुद्धाद् बिभेति स्म। स्वकीयायां परिशुद्धौ कथयत्ययम्—'विवरणकाराणां सङ्कुलानीव वचांसि, तदत्र निपुणेन प्रतिपत्त्रा भवितव्यम्' इति।

एवमपरां सरणिमाश्रित्य सूत्राशयमवगमयितुं कृतसङ्कल्पाः वृत्तिस्वरूपा व्याख्याधारा मनांसि हरन्ति गवेषकाणाम्। इमाश्च वृत्तयः विविधेषु कालेषु विभिन्नैर्नैयायिकैः प्रणीता अधुना मातृकासूचीग्रन्थेषु लब्धास्पदानि केवलं मातृकागारानलङ्कुर्वन्ति। गवेषका इदानीमेतादृशेषु विषयेषु दत्तावधानाः कदाचित् क्वचित् व्याख्यानमालायां वृत्तीरिमाः संलपन्ति किन्तु प्रकाशनस्यैतासां वर्तते अपेक्षा। विश्वनाथन्यायपञ्चाननराधामोहनगोस्वामिभ्यां प्रणीते न्यायसूत्राणां वृत्ती एव विदुषां पुरतः दर्शितात्मानौ राजेते।

द्वितीयवाचस्पतेर्न्यायतत्त्वालोकः, वर्धमानोपाध्यायस्यान्वीक्षानयतत्त्वबोधः, वंशधरस्य **न्यायसूत्रवृत्तिः**, भट्टवागीश्वरस्य **तात्पर्यदीपिका** मैथिलनैयायिकस्य तर्काचार्यवेदान्तव्यासादिविविधविरुदविभूषितस्य केशवमिश्रस्य **गौतमीयसूत्रप्रकाशश्चा**स्मिन् प्रसङ्गे विशेषेणोल्लेखमर्हन्ति। अन्याश्च काश्चन न्यायसूत्रवृत्तयः वाराणसेया संस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य मातृकागारे अन्यत्र च लब्धस्थानानि विद्यन्ते। एता न्यायसूत्रवृत्तयः प्राकाश्यं नीताः सत्यः न केवलं गवेषकाणामुपकृतये कल्पयिष्यन्ते अपि तु गुरुपरम्परातो लब्धप्रसराणां न्यायमतवादानां विकासक्रमनिर्देशेऽपि साहाय्यं विधास्यन्तीति मादृशां जायते धारणा।

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*शोधाधिकारी, गंगानाथ झा केन्द्रीय संस्कृत विद्यापीठम्, इलाहाबाद।

सामीक्षिकं संस्करणं प्रस्तोतुं परिगृहीतस्य गौतमीयसूत्रप्रकाशस्याध्ययनेन कानिचन महत्त्वपूर्णानि आलोचनापेक्षाणि च तथ्यानि तत्र निर्दिष्टानि परिचर्चितुमात्मनः मादृशान् मुखरयन्ति ।

तद्यथा मैथिलोऽयं केशवमिश्रोऽलङ्कारशेखरसंख्यापरिमाणाद्यनेक-ग्रन्थानां प्रणेता सौभाग्येन स्वपरिचयमस्मभ्यं प्रददातीति प्रमोदस्थानम् । संख्यापरि-माणाभिधग्रन्थस्य समाप्तावस्य परिचय एवं समुल्लिखितो विद्यते—"इति महा-महोपाध्यायकटकवासिसोदरपुरकमलदिवाकरमिश्रश्रीकेशवकृतं संख्यापरिमाणपुस्तकं समाप्तम्" इति । मैथिलपञ्जीप्रबन्धे पुरुषानुक्रमोऽस्य परिचय उपलभ्यते । तथा हि तत्र—"म०म० विश्वनाथ-रतिनाथ-मिश्रदालू-मिश्रगदाधर महोपाध्याय विसो (विश्वधर) महोपाध्यायकेशवः" इति दृश्यते । अयं च केशवः कुसुमाञ्जलेरामोद-स्यात्मतत्त्वविवेकस्य कल्पलतायाश्च रचयितुः प्रसिद्धस्य भवनाथात्मजस्य शङ्कर-मिश्रस्य द्विपुरुषं पश्चाद्भवस्तद्वंशज एवासीत् । मिथिलाया ओइनवारवंशीया-न्तिममहाराजस्य लक्ष्मीनाथकंसनारायणस्य सभायां सम्मान्यपण्डितरूपेणास्या-वस्थितिरासीत् । अतएव ख्रीष्टाब्दस्य षोडशशतकस्यादिभागे मिथिलायां प्रसिद्धा-वदातवंशे सोदरपुरकटकामूलग्रामे केशवमिश्रो व्यराजत इति निश्चेतुं शक्यम् ।

यद्यपि केशव इति विभिन्नसमयभवानां मैथिलपण्डितानामभिधानं समुप-लभ्यते । तैः प्रणीताः ग्रन्थाश्च सन्ति । यथा तर्कभाषाकृत् केशवमिश्रः नैयायिकेषु प्रसिद्ध एव तथापि गौतमीयसूत्रप्रकाशस्यालङ्कारशेखरस्य संख्यापरिमाणाभिध-स्यान्यस्य च प्रणेता एक एव केशवमिश्र ऊर्ध्वंदर्शितपरिचयः इत्यत्र विवादाभावः । यतो हि मङ्गलश्लोकोपसंहारपद्ययोरेषु ग्रन्थेषु सर्वथैक्यं लेखकस्यैक्येन विना असम्भवमेवेति नात्र प्रमाणान्तरापेक्षा ।

"तीरभुक्तिमहीपालपरिषन्मुख्यसूरिणा ।
श्रीकेशवकवीन्द्रेण निबन्धोऽयं विधीयते ॥"

इति संख्यापरिमाणाभिधे ग्रन्थे प्रारम्भश्लोकः । अस्यैव चतुर्थचरणं परिवृत्य "कृता सूत्रप्रकाशिका" इति रूपेण गौतमीयसूत्रप्रकाशस्य प्रथमाध्यायान्ते विनिवेशः । अलङ्कारशेखरस्य गौतमीयसूत्रप्रकाशस्य च मङ्गलाचरणमेकेनैव पद्येन विहितम् । तच्च पद्यम् ।

"प्राणान् कृशोदरीणां राधानयनान्तसर्वस्वम् ।
तेजस्तमालनीलं शरणागतवज्रपञ्जरं वन्दे" ॥ इति ।

"उमापतिसगर्भस्य श्रीविश्वधरसूनुनः ।

श्रीमत्केशवमिश्रस्य कृतिर्विजयतेतराम् ॥" इति गौतमीयसूत्रप्रकाशान्तिमश्लोकः पञ्जीप्रबन्धाभिहितं विश्वधरात्मजत्वं केशवस्य स्फुटं प्रतिपादयति ।

अयं च मुख्यतो नैयायिकः, वेदान्ते च लब्धप्रतिष्ठः काव्यमर्मज्ञोऽप्यासीत् । न केवलं जन्मभूमौ मिथिलायामपि तु विद्यायाः केन्द्रे वाराणसीनगरेऽपि वेदान्तं न्यायदर्शनं चाध्यापयन् प्राख्यापयत् वैदुष्यमुपार्जयच्च यशांसीति तदीयरचनालोचनया परिज्ञायते ।

"सुखेनाध्यापयन् काश्यां न्यायवेदान्तदर्शने ।
श्रीकेशवकविश्चक्रे न्यायसूत्रप्रकाशनम् ॥"

इति गौतमीयसूत्रप्रकाशान्तिमश्लोकस्तत्रत्या निम्ननिर्दिष्टपुष्पिका चास्मिन् प्रसङ्गे सर्वथावलोकनीया । तद्यथा—"इति महामहोपाध्यायतर्काचार्यवेदान्तव्यासश्रीकेशवमिश्रकृते गौतमसूत्रप्रकाशे पञ्चमोऽध्यायः ।" एवमलङ्कारशेखरस्यारम्भिकश्लोकोऽप्यत्र द्रष्टव्यः । यत्र—

"वेदान्तन्यायविद्यापरिचयचतुरं केशवं सन्नियुज्य" इति लिखितमस्ति । साहित्यशास्त्रे न केवलमलङ्कारशेखरमपि तु सप्तान्यानि पुस्तकानि नैयायिकैरेव ज्ञातुं योग्यानि समारचि कवीन्द्रेण केशवेनेति स्वयमारम्भे अलङ्कारशेखरस्याभिदधात्ययम् —"ग्रन्थाः काव्यकृतां हिताय विहिता ये सप्त पूर्वं मया ।

ते तर्कार्णवसंप्लवव्यसनिभिः शक्याः परं वेदितुम्" । इति ।

अस्य च परः सहस्रं शिष्याः विद्याप्रचाराय समुद्रपारमपि समगच्छन्निति निम्नश्लोकस्तदीयः प्रतिपादयति—

"श्रीकेशवेन व्यरचि प्रबन्धः पूर्णानि विश्वान्यपि यद् यशोभिः ।
शिष्यैर्यदीयैश्च परः सहस्रैः पारे समुद्रानपि भूषिता भूः" ॥ इति ।

सत्यपि नव्यन्यायप्रचारबाहुल्ये सूत्राणामध्ययने संलग्नचेतसः स्वल्पायासेन प्राचीनन्यायसिद्धान्तसाराणामवगतये शिष्याणां हितकाम्यया शास्त्रसंरक्षणप्रवृत्त्या च वृत्तिप्रणयनपरा इमे विद्वांसो वस्तुतः प्रशंसापात्राण्यस्माकम् । न्यायचतुर्ग्रन्थिमारूपाकरतो सिद्धान्तरत्नान्युद्धृत्य वृत्तौ तदीयस्रजं विनिवेश्य च न केवलं ग्रन्थप्रणयने रत्नमाला विनिर्माणे वा कौशलमेभिः प्रादर्शि अपि तु संप्रदाय-

संरक्षणपरैस्तैः सिद्धान्तानामुद्भवविकासपरम्पराप्रदर्शनपुरस्सरं पश्चाद्भवानां न्यायाध्येतॄणां मार्गप्रदर्शनमप्यकारि ।

केशवमिश्रकृतेर्वैशिष्ट्यं संक्षेपतस्तन्मुखेनैवाधोनिर्दिष्टपद्येनावगन्तुं शक्यम् । यत्रायं कथयति--स्वल्पशब्देन पूर्वापरसंबन्धयुक्तस्य निर्दोषस्य गुणविशिष्टस्य च सारसिद्धान्तस्याभिधानात्मकं व्याख्यासौष्ठवं मदीयायां वृत्तौ विद्यत इति ।

"आस्ते यद्यपि पूर्वपण्डितकृतां व्याख्यैव संख्यावता—

मानन्दाय तथापि केशवकवेर्वाचामियं गुम्फना ।

व्याख्यासौष्ठवशब्दलाघवमिथः संवन्धपूर्वापर—

प्रत्यर्थप्रतिवद्धनिर्मलगुणः कुत्रान्यतो लभ्यताम् ।।" श्लोकोऽयं गौतमीयसूत्रप्रकाशप्रारम्भे अलङ्कारशेखरोपसंहारे च दृश्यते । एतेनैव श्लोकेन सत्यपि विविधे व्याख्याग्रन्थे मम व्याख्या न भवति तैर्ग्रन्थैर्गतार्थेति महत्त्वपूर्णं विषयमपि प्रतिपादयति केशवमिश्रः । अपरेणापि पद्येनायं स्वकृतवैशिष्ट्यं ख्यापयति । तद्यथा—

"इह न्यायारण्ये प्रकृतिगहने तर्कसरणि—

प्रवीणा विद्वांसः कति कति न पूर्वं समभवन् ।

परं पञ्चाध्यायीपरिणतरहस्यप्रणयिनो ।

विरोधव्यासेधव्यसनपटवः केचन पुनः ।।"

इति गौतमीयसूत्रप्रकाशप्रारम्भ श्लोकः । इह "केचन पुनः" इत्यनेनात्मानमेव सङ्केतयति ग्रन्थकृदिति न तिरोहितं विद्वल्लोचनेभ्यः ।

अपरं च वृत्तेरस्याः वैशिष्ट्यं न्यायसूत्राणां पाठस्य संख्यायाश्च निर्णयप्रयासः । तेषां प्रकरणनिर्देशः प्रकरणमध्यपतितसूत्रसंख्यानिर्देशश्च । अतएव यत्प्रयोजनं न्यायसूचीनिवन्धनिर्माणद्वारा वृद्धवाचस्पतिमिश्रेण न्यायसूत्रोद्धारप्रणयनद्वारा द्वितीयवाचस्पतिमिश्रेण पूरितं संशोधनपूर्वकं तदेवानेनापि सम्पादितम् । तस्मादिह वृत्तौ संख्यात्रयनिर्देशो यथास्थानमधिकं शोभते । प्रथमा संख्या आह्निकमध्यसूत्रक्रमानुसारिणी प्रचलति, द्वितीया प्रकरणपतितसूत्रान् निर्धारयति,तृतीया च प्रकरणं निर्दिशति।पुनः पञ्चमाध्यायान्ते सूत्र संख्या एवमुल्लिखिता यया ग्रन्थस्थसकलसूत्राणां सङ्कलनं सुशकम् । तद्यथा प्रथमे ४०+२०=६० । द्वितीये ६८+६८=१३६ । तृतीये ६९ । ७३=१४२ । चतुर्थे ६८+४९=११७ ।

पञ्चमे ४३+२४=६७ । संकलनेन द्वाविंशत्यधिकपञ्चशतसूत्राणि (५२२) भवन्ति यदा च न्यायसूचीनिबन्धे त्रिंशदधिकपञ्चशतं सूत्राणि निर्दिष्टानि। अत एवालोचनमेतत् सूत्रसंख्यायां न्यूनाधिक्यज्ञानार्थमपेक्ष्यते।

(क) केशवमिश्रो न्यायसूचीनिबन्धे परिगृहीतेषु सूत्रेषु नव सूत्रान् नाङ्गीकरोति अथ चैकमधिकं पठति प्रथमाध्यायप्रथमाह्निके प्रमाणलक्षणप्रकरणे शब्दद्वैविध्यबोधकंसूत्रं—"स द्विविधः दृष्टादृष्टार्थत्वात्"—इत्येतत् नैव व्याख्याति न वा सूत्रतया परिगणति। "आप्तोपदेशः शब्दः" १।१।६। सूत्रव्याख्यायामयं कथयति-"स चायं द्विविधः दृष्टादृष्टार्थभेदात् । अस्मदादिप्रत्यक्षतदन्यार्थप्रतिपादकत्वात्। वेदतदन्यत्वाद्वेति प्रपञ्चितं मयैव निर्वाणमहार्णवे तर्कताण्डवे वा" इति। [क्वचिन्मातृकायां निर्वाणमहार्णवः क्वचित् पुनः तर्कताण्डवः समुल्लिखित उपलब्धिस्तु कस्यापि न विद्यते]

(ख) न्यायसूचीनिबन्धपरिगृहीतं—"प्रत्यक्षनिमित्तत्वाच्चेन्द्रियार्थयोः सन्निकर्षस्य स्वशब्देन वचन"-मित्येतत् २।१।२६ सूत्रं नाङ्गीकरोति केशवः।

(ग) अनेकद्रव्यसमवायात् रूपविशेषाच्च रूपोपलब्धिः ।३।१।३६। सूत्रं वृद्धवाचस्पतिमिश्रेणेन्द्रियस्य भौतिकत्वपरीक्षायां परिगृहीतं नाङ्गीकरोति केशवमिश्रः। वस्तुतो वैशेषिकसूत्रमेतत् प्रमादादिह संगृहीतमिति प्रा० श्री० अनन्तलालठाकुरमहाशयेन स्वनिबन्धे प्रतिपादितम् [द्रष्टव्यम्—दरभंगामिथिलानुसन्धानसंस्थानशोधपत्रिका, महारानीराजलक्ष्मी-अभिनन्दनग्रन्थः]

(घ) इन्द्रियनानात्वपरीक्षाप्रकरणे समापतितं "विप्रतिषेधाच्च न त्वगेका" ३।१।५४। भूतगुणविशेषोपलब्धेस्तादात्म्यम् "३।१।६० इति सूत्रद्वयं नाङ्गीकरोति केशवमिश्रः। फलत इन्द्रियनानात्वप्रकरणं दशभिः सूत्रैर्वाचस्पतिमिश्रवर्योऽष्टाभिश्च केशवमिश्रः परिपूरयति। न वात्र केशवः किमप्यालोचयति। यथा तस्य सविधे एतयोः सूत्रत्वख्यापनाय कुत्रचिच् चर्चापि नासीत् तथा मौनमवलम्बते।

(ङ) एवं "तेनैव तस्याग्रहणाच्च" ३।१।७२ इति न्यायसूचीनिबन्धे अर्थपरीक्षाप्रकरणपतितं सूत्रं केशवमिश्रो नाङ्गीकरोति

(च) चतुर्थाध्यायद्वितीयाह्निके अवयविपरीक्षाप्रकरणे न्यायसूचीनिबन्धस्य सप्तमाष्टमसूत्रतया परिगृहीतयोः सूत्रयोरस्वीकारः केशवमिश्रेण कृतोऽत्र दृश्यते। ते च सूत्रे—"कृत्स्नैकदेशावृत्तित्वादवयवानामवयव्यभावः" "तेषु चावृत्तेरवयव्यभावः" इति। एवञ्च वाचस्पतिमिश्रस्वीकृतसूत्रेषु नवसूत्राणामनङ्गीकार एकस्य चाधिकं पाठः केशवमिश्रेण स्ववृत्तौ विहित इत्यस्माभिर्दृष्टम् ।

(छ) अथ च बुद्ध्यनित्यताप्रकरणोपसंहारे—"न हेत्वभावात्" इति सूत्रमधिकं पठति । अस्य सूत्रत्वस्वीकाराय सयत्नश्चायं दृश्यते—"केचित्तु नैतत् सूत्रम् [इत्याहुः] तन्न, पूर्वविचारासमाप्तौ उत्तरविचारानवतारात् । न चाक्षेपलभ्यः सिद्धान्तः, शाब्दे पूर्वपक्षे सिद्धान्तस्यापि तथौचित्यात्" । न चात्र शङ्कनीयं यत् यदीदं सूत्रं स्यात् कथं न वाचस्पतिमिश्रेण न्यायसूचीनिबन्धे परिगणितं प्रत्युत भाष्यपंक्तितया तेन परिगृह्य व्याख्यातं टीकायामिति । तदर्थं केशवेन किमप्यभिहितत्वात् । तथा हि—"हेत्वभावादिति भाष्यमिति टीका च सूत्रव्याख्यानपरभाष्याभिप्रायेण" इति ।

(ज) "प्रागुत्पत्तेरभावनित्यत्वात् स्वाभाविकेऽप्यनित्यत्वम्" ४।१।६६ "अणुश्यामता नित्यत्ववद्वा" ४।१।६७ इति सूत्रद्वयं केचिदन्यकर्तृकं मत्वा न्यायसूत्रेषु प्रक्षिप्ततयैतयोः परिगणनं कृतवन्तस्तेषां मतं निरस्य केशवमिश्र एतयोः न्यायसूत्रत्वं युक्त्या साधयति । अतएवा यं वृत्तौ कथयति—"केचित्तु भिन्नवक्तृकं सूत्रद्वयमिति तन्न, वादिभेदे वाक्यार्थानुपत्तेर्मनोभावाच्च" इति ।

(झ) एवं २।१।१५ तमं सूत्रं न्यायसूचीनिबन्धे "त्रैकाल्याप्रतिषेधश्च शब्दादातोद्यसिद्धिवत् तत्सिद्धेः" इति पठितम्, परं केशवमिश्रोऽत्र पूवार्धे "त्रैकाल्याप्रतिषेधश्चेत्यंशं सूत्रतया नाङ्गीकुर्वन् "शब्दादातोद्यसिद्धिवत्तत्सिद्धे" रित्येतावन्मात्रं सूत्रं पठति ।

वृत्ताविहाध्यायान्ते प्रकरणानां प्राकरणिकविषयाणां तत्प्रकरणपतितसूत्रसंख्यानां च निर्देशं पद्यैरपि करोति केशवमिश्रः । तथाहि प्रथमाध्यायान्ते—

"अक्षिपञ्चध्रुवश्चैव त्रिषडश्वयुगन्धरः ।
पश्चात् त्रिषट्वसुत्रीणि प्रथमाध्यायसूत्रकम् ॥
संबन्धमानमेयानि तत्पूर्वाङ्गं तदाश्रयः ।
तत्स्वरूपं चोत्तराङ्गं प्रथमे चरमे पुनः ॥
कथा च हेत्वाभासाश्च छलञ्चाशक्तिलिङ्गकम्" । इति । पुनरत्र प्रत्येकस्मिन्नाह्निके कति प्रकरणानि भवन्तीत्यपि समुल्लिखितं विद्यते—

"सप्तश्रुती ग्रहाम्भोधी ग्रहाश्वौ वासवर्तुकौ ।
जीमूतवाहावाद्यन्ताह्निके प्रकरणं क्रमात्" ॥ इति ।

द्वितीयाध्यायद्वितीयाह्निकमात्रस्यानुपलब्ध्या तत्रत्योपसंहारश्लोको नाभूत् दृष्टिगोचरः । तृतीयाध्यान्तोपसंहारश्लोकास्तु—

"त्रिस्त्रिरष्टौ त्रिरङ्कौ त्रिग्रहैकं वसुरीश्वरः ।
दिशोऽष्टौ श्रुतिदृक्वेदा दिशो वेदास्त्रिरूपकम् ॥

नियोग-विकल्प-समुच्चय-विषय-संशय-प्रयोजन-पूर्वपक्ष-सिद्धान्त- विचाराङ्गानि पञ्च ।

अनिन्द्रियमकायञ्च चक्षुरेकं मनोऽन्यथा ।
नित्यता च शरीरं च भौतिकत्वं च भूरिता ॥
अर्थाः शेषे ह्यनित्यत्वं स्थैर्यं बुद्ध्यात्मवृत्तिता ।
विनाशित्वमलङ्घ्यत्वं मनश्चादृष्टजन्यता" ॥ इति ।

एवं चतुर्थाध्यायान्तोपसंहारश्लोकाः—

"द्वौ वाहाः श्रुतयो वाणास्त्रित्रिवेदाः शरास्त्रयः ।
वेदा रामा हरा वेदा दिशश्च प्रथमाह्निके ॥
त्रिसूर्याः वसवः सूर्याः सूर्ययुग्मं द्वितीयके ।
आद्येऽनुकीर्तनं दोषत्रैराश्यं प्रेत्यभावकम् ॥
शून्येश्वरावुपादानमकस्मात् सर्वनाश्यता ।
सर्वनित्यत्वपार्थक्याभावाः संख्याफलक्रमाः ॥
मोक्षो द्वितीये दोषोऽर्थोऽवयवी तद्विपर्ययः ।
वाह्यार्थो ज्ञाविवृद्धिश्च ज्ञानरक्षात्वनुक्रमात् ॥" इति ।

पञ्चमाध्यायान्तोपसंहारश्लोकास्तु—

"उमापतिसगर्भस्य श्रीविश्वधरजन्मनः ।
श्रीमत्केशवमिश्रस्य कृतिर्विजयतेतराम् ॥
श्री केशवेन व्यरचि प्रबन्धः
पूर्णानि विश्वान्यपि यद्यशोभिः ।
शिष्यैर्यदीयैश्च परःसहस्रैः
पारे समुद्रानपि भूषिता भूः ॥
नमामि सज्जनान् प्रीत्या न तु भीत्यापि दुर्जनान् ।
सज्जनः सानुवन्धश्चेद् दुर्जनः किं करिष्यति ॥
त्रि-त्रि-द्वि-त्रि द्वि-त्रिक द्वि-त्रि-द्वि-द्वि त्रिवामदृक् ।
द्विपैनाद्ये षडाम्नाय-त्रिद्वि-श्रुत्यग्नि-युग्मकम् ॥
जाति-षट्कं युग्म-द्वादशैकैकशः क्रमात् ।
षट्पक्षी पञ्चवेदाग्निचन्द्राब्ध्यग्निद्विनिग्रहाः ॥" इति ।

(६) अस्यां वृत्तावुपजीव्यतया वात्स्यायन उद्द्योतकरस्तात्पर्यटीकाकृद् वाचस्पतिः, जयन्तभट्टः, विद्यासागरः, भास्करः, गङ्गेशोपाध्यायः अन्ये चाचार्यवृद्धाः- केचिद् अन्यादिपदवाच्याः परिगृहीताः सन्ति । अत एव अवयविपरीक्षोपसंहारे २।१।३६ तम-सूत्र-व्याख्यायाम्—"अत्र परीक्षितं प्रत्यक्षमिति भाष्यदर्शनादवयविप्रकरणमपि प्रत्यक्षपरीक्षापरम्······" इत्युक्तम् । फल-लक्षण-सूत्र-व्याख्यावसरे "फलशब्दः सुखदुःखोपभोगे मुख्यः शरीरादौ गौण इति वार्तिकम्" इत्यभिहितं वर्तते । १।२।१५ तमसूत्रव्याख्यायां खण्डनार्थं जयन्तभट्टः अरुचिप्रदर्शनार्थं वार्तिककारः समादरार्थं वाचस्पतिश्च समुद्धृताः सन्ति । छललक्षणसूत्रे भास्करनामा कश्चिन्नैयायिकः समुद्धृतस्तस्य परिचयस्तु नास्मदादिभिरुपलब्धः । यत्र तत्र प्राचीनस्य वृद्धस्याचार्यस्य च समुद्धरणमिह विलोक्यते । के चाभिप्रेतास्तैः शब्दैरिति निर्णेतुं नास्मदादयः प्रभवन्ति । यद्यपि उदयनस्य मैथिलसंप्रदाये आचार्यत्वमस्ति प्रसिद्धम् । विद्यासागरस्योल्लेखस्तु प्रत्यक्षपरीक्षाप्रकरणे "नार्थविशेषप्राबल्यात्" इति सूत्रवृत्तौ ईश्वर-सिद्धि-प्रकरणे "तत्कारितत्वादहेतुः" इति सूत्रव्याख्यायां च दृश्यते । कोऽयं विद्यासागर इति नास्माभिः परिज्ञायते । अतएवास्य परिचये सुधीभिर्दत्तावधानैर्भाव्यम् । ईश्वरसिद्धिप्रसङ्गे केशवमिश्रस्तात्पर्यटीकाकृतो वाचस्पतेः प्रभावितः परिलक्ष्यते न तूद्द्योतकरतः । अतएवेदं प्रकरणमीश्वरोपादानतानिराकरणपरमयं मनुते । "कार्यमात्रं ब्रह्मोपादानकं न वेति संशयः" इत्यवतरणपूर्वकं पूर्वपक्षतया "ईश्वरः कारणम्" इति सूत्रं व्याख्याति । न वायमीश्वर-निमित्त-कारणतावाद-परं सिद्धान्त-सूत्र-मेतद् वार्तिककाराभिमतं स्वीकरोति ।

अत्र "विद्यासागरास्तु परिणामेणेश्वरोपादानकं जगदित्याक्षिप्तपूर्वपक्षकं सिद्धान्तसूत्रम्—"ईश्वरः कारणम् इत्यादि । ईश्वरः कारणं निमित्तकारणं पुरुषकर्माफल्यदर्शनात् पुरुषव्यापारोऽफलोऽपि दृश्यते यतोऽतः कारणान्तरापेक्षेत्यर्थः । न तूपादानं कार्यैकजात्यादि" तिभावः इत्येवंरूपेण वार्तिककाराभिहित-मत एव विद्यासागरस्य समादरः दृश्यते । एवञ्च विद्यासागर-केशवमिश्रयोः मतपार्थक्यमवलोकनीयम् । परं मिश्रवर्योऽयं विद्यासागरमतं नैव खण्डयतीति विभावनीयम् ।

"तदात्मगुणसद्भावादप्रतिषेधः" इति ३।१।१४-तमसूत्रवृत्ताविहोद्धृतस्तरणिमिश्रस्तु रत्नकोषकार इत्यधुना प्रा० श्री० अनन्त-लाल-ठाकुर-महानुभावेन सयुक्तिकं प्रतिपादितम् (द्रष्टव्यः कविशेखरपुष्पाञ्जलावस्य निबन्धः)

"न संकल्पनिमित्तत्वाच्च रागादीनाम्" इति ४।१।६८-तम सूत्रवृत्तौ गङ्गेशमतं नाम-निर्देश-पूर्वक-मुद्धरत्ययम्—"गङ्गेशो मिथ्याज्ञानं तन्निमित्तकं रागद्वेष-

मोहा इति । तत्त्वज्ञानेन मिथ्याज्ञाननिवृत्तौ अनादयोऽपि रागादयः कारणोच्छेदान्नि-वर्त्स्यन्तीत्यनुच्छेद्यत्वेऽनादित्वमप्रयोजकमित्यर्थः" इति ।

एवं प्रत्यक्षलक्षण-सूत्र-व्याख्यायामन्यत्र च वृत्तिकृतोऽस्य तात्पर्यटीका-कृतोऽनुगामित्वं सुस्पष्टं परिलक्ष्यते । नान्यथा तत्र सविकल्पक-निर्विकल्पक-प्रत्यक्ष-योस्तात्पर्य-टीकानुसारमुल्लेखः संगच्छते । ईश्वरसिद्धिप्रकरणमपि वाचस्पति-व्याख्यानुगामिनीमेव वृत्तिं कलयति इति प्रदर्शितपूर्वम् । नात्र विस्मरणीयं पुनः **निर्वाणमहार्णवस्य तर्कताण्डवस्य** वा स्वकीय-ग्रन्थस्य समुल्लेखः । यत्रानेन न्याय-मतवादाः सविस्तरमालोचिता इति । परमस्माकं दौर्भाग्यं यदद्यावधि नायं ग्रन्थः मातृकागारेष्वपि क्वचिद् दृष्टिगोचरोऽभूदिति । विद्वद्भिरत्र प्रयत्नः कर्तव्यः ।

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MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT SOME OF THE SCHOLARS OF MITHILA

NARESH CHANDRA JHA*

It is in the fitness of things that the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan under the stewardship of late Dr. K. M. Munshi undertook an ambitious project to publish a comprehensive history of India by the Indian historians. It is gratifying to note that the project has almost come to a successful close.

A student of history can now read the History of India as told by her own historians. But in the otherwise very laudable execution of the project, I came across some inaccuracies which I propose to point out in the following lines in the hope that the learned editor will take them into account in the next edition.

The inaccuracies I want to dilate upon, concern the heading[1] "Language and Literature" under Chapter IX of "*The Age of Imperial Kanauj*", Volume IV in which the author has thrown light on the eminent philosophers of Mithila of the age concerned.

The writer assigns the first half of the ninth Century as the possible date for the famous philosopher[1] Vācaspati. To be more accurate, A.D. 841 may be taken

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1. *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, Page 204.

as his date when, according to the author, an index to the Nyāyasūtras was composed.[1]

But this does not stand to reason. Udayana in the Tātparyapariśudhi[2] shows that Vācaspati refers to Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, "the old logician", who belonged to the Court of the Kashmirian King Śaṅkarvarman (883 A. D. to 902 A.D., as the Āgamaḍambara of Jayanta clearly shows). This precludes the possibility of the year Vasvaṅka–Vasu (i.e. 898) as the year of Vācaspati's Nyāyasūcīnibandha being related to the Vikrama era. But we will have no difficulty, if the year in question refers to the Śaka era corresponding to 976-7 A. D. Further the author remarks that the said date of Vācaspati as identical with A. D. 841, "is confirmed by other considerations".[3] But these considerations have not been made explicit and as such we cannot evaluate them. But the indebtedness of Vācaspati to Jayanta, to which we have just referred, coming from no less an authority than Udayana, Vācaspati's immediate successor, cannot be easily brushed aside.

The second point to be taken exception to is in respect of the author's remark, "Before composing his commentary on the *Nyāyavārttikatātparya*, he composed index to the Nyāyasūtras".[4] Vācaspati commented upon

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1. "Before composing his Commentary on the *Nyāyavārtikatātparya*, he composed an index to the Nyāyasūtras which he himself has dated A D. 841." *Ibid.*, p. 204.

2. उपमानस्य फले विप्रतिपद्यमानान् प्रति साशङ्क' जरन्नैयायिक-जयन्त-प्रभृतीनां परिहारमाह यद्यपीति । Pariśuddhi I,1, 6

3. *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 204.

4. *Ibid.* p. 204.

the *Nyāyavārtika* of Uddyotakara and his work is known as the *Tātparyaṭīkā* or the *Nyāyavārttikatātparyaṭīkā*. But the language of the writer seems to indicate that Vācaspati's ṭīkā on Uddyotkara's *Nyāyavārttika* relates to an earlier work called *Nyāyavārttikatātparya*. Moreover the said index of the Nyāyasūtras is nothing but an appendix to his *Tātparyaṭīkā* and not an earlier work.

The author further adds that besides the said index "the *Nyāyasūcīnibandha* and the *Nyāyasūtroddhāra* are two more Nyāya works from the same pen."[1] In fact Vācaspati's index is identical with the *Nyāyasūcīnibandha* and not a separate treatise. The *Nyāyasūtroddhara* has nothing to do with Vācaspati Mishra I, the author of the *Nyāyavārttikatātparyaṭīkā*. It was composed by Vācaspati Mishra II, who belonged to the 15th Century A D. The readings as well as the number of sūtras in both the indices disagree to a considerable extent. Vācaspati Mishra II wrote an independent commentary on the *Nyāyasūtras* called the *Nyāyatattvāloka*, the sūtra text of the *Nyāyasūtroddhāra* agress with this *Tattvāloka*, while the sūtra text as given in the *Nyāyasūcīnibandha* follows the sūtra-readings as found in the *Tātparyaṭīkā*.

The next point to be discussed is the date of Udayanācārya. The author seems to have relied upon 984 A. D. as the date of Udayana, the author of the *Tātparyapariśuddhi*, when he says, "Next to Vācaspati stands Udayana who composed the *Tattvaśuddhi* or the *Tātparyapariśuddhi*, a commentary on the *Nyāyavārttika-*

1. *Ibid.*, p. 204.

tātparyaṭīkā in A. D. 984".[1] In this regard I beg to add that A. D. 984 as calculated from the date Tarkāmbarāṅka 906 Śaka, given in a single Ms. of the *Lakṣaṇāvalī* of the author (Udayanācarya), is far from convincing. No commentator on the *Lakṣaṇāvalī* has touched the verse under review. Besides trad tion makes Udyana, a senior contemporary of Śrīharṣa, who in his *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya* has quoted and criticised Udayana's *Lakṣaṇāmālā*, as if to avenge the defeat of his father Śrīhīra at the hand of the former. Śrīhīra's defeat by Udayana is recorded in a commentary of the *Naiṣadhacarita* within a Century and a half from Śrīharṣa's date.[2] Śrīharṣa belonged to the Court of Govinda Chandra of Kanauj (1104–54 A. D.)[3]

Besides this, Prof. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya has rightly proved by a volume of evidence that Udayanācarya flourished much later than 984 A. D., i. e., in between 1025–1100 A. D.[4]

As regards Jayanta, again, the author seems to confuse the point at issue. He says "Jayanta, the author of the *Nyāyamañjarī*, which is an independent commentary on the Nyāyasūtra, stands between Vācaspati, whom he quotes..............."[5]

That Jayanta quoted Vācaspati is not substantiated by facts. On the other hand, we have already shown on

1. *Ibid*, p. 204.
2. *History of Navya-nyāya in Mithila* p. 51.
3. *Ibid*, p. 47.
4. *Ibid*, p. 54.
5. *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 204

the evidence of Udayana, that it is Vācaspati, who criticised Jayanta in the *Tātparyaṭīkā*.

So far as the justification of the title "Praśastapāda's Bhāṣya" is concerned, a student of Vaiśeṣika must enterain grave doubts. The work of Praśastapāda is nothing but a digest of the Vaiśeṣika tenet and is rightly called a 'Saṁgraha' by Praśastapāda himself. Bhāṣya is a regular commentary touching all the points covered by the individual sūtras. Praśatapāda's work hardly touches the sūtras and the title 'Bhāṣya' though loosely given to it, cannot be substantiated.

Subsequently the author says. "The Nyāyakandalī, however, is highly important, since Śrīdhara has therein for the first time in the history of the system, given us a theistic interpretation of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika"[2] That Śrīdhara is a pioneer in giving the theistic interpretation of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, is not a fact. The Nyāyasūtras, along with its commentaries are all theistic in character. As regards the Vaiśeṣikas, we do not actually find any mention of God, the creator of the created entities, in the sūtras of Kaṇāda. But all later commentators on the Vaiśeṣika Sūtras and digest-writers including Praśastapāda explicitly mention God as the creator of the created entities.

Last but not the least remarkable to be considered, is the author's statement that in Udayana's

1 पदार्थधर्म संग्रहः प्रवक्ष्यते महोदयः । पदार्थधर्म संग्रहः, p. 1.

2. *Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 205.

Nyāyakusumāñjali" existence of soul is established from the Nyāya point of view."[1]

We wish to add here that the *Nyāyakusūmāñjali* seeks to establish the existence of the Supreme soul, i., e., God, the creator to whom the offering of flowers in the form of arguments has been made. As to the establishment of "the existence of soul" he had to devote a separate volume called the *Ātmatattvaviveka*, which, because of its bitter criticism against the Buddhist doctrines, came to be known as *Bauddhādhikāra* or *Bauddhadhikkāra*. Unfortunately the author takes "The *Ātmatattvaviveka*" to be different from the *Bauddhadhikkāra* in an earlier passage.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 205.

THE POSITION OF ACCENT IN SANSKṚTA LANGUAGE

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It is a problem of great moment to determine the accent situation in the Sanskṛta language. Needless to observe that all accents, namely *udātta, udāttatara, anudātta, anudāttatara* (or *sannatara*), *svarita, svaritīya-udātta* and *ekaśruti,*[1] do not equally enjoy the independence in the matter of standing in any place at their own accord. The *udātta* alone, which is the principal accent, may occur and maintain its position in all situations. The *anudātta* also is independent to some extent as is attested by the cases of the *sarvānudātta*. Both the *svarita* and the *ekaśruti* are sometimes independent and sometimes reverse of it. The position may be elucidated drawing attention to the aphorisms *titsvaritam,*[2] '*ekaśruti dūrāt sambuddhau*[3] on one hand and '*udāttādanudāttasya svaritaḥ*'[4] '*svaritāt saṁhitāyāmanudāttānām*'[5] on the other. The position of *sannatara* is firm and fixed that it can always immediately

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1. Vide, *MB.*, 1.2.33 (*MB=Mahābhāṣya*)
2. Vide, *A.*, 6-1.185(*A=Aṣṭādhyāyī*)
3. Vide, *A.*, 1.2.33.
4. Vide, *A.*, 8.4.66.
5. Vide, *A.*, 1.2.39.

be before the *udātta* or the *svarita* accent.[1] The position of the *udāttatara* is confined to a particular word which is evident from the Pāṇini's aphorism *'uccaistarāṃvā vaṣaṭkāraḥ'*.[2] Likewise the position of the *svaritīya-udātta* is unalterable that it forms the initial constituent part of any svarita[3]. There is possibility of occurrence of all accents with respect to a particular word save and except the *ekaśruti*. Because it sometimes may overwhelm the sentence in its entirety. Consider the following instance-*bho Devadatta āgaccha*'[4] In case of the occurrence of a noun in vocative case at the end of the sentence, the *ekaśruti* undoubtedly remains in the entire sentence, but with the exception of the last syllable on which falls the *udātta* accent.[5]

Sometimes the udātta is also prescribed in respect of sentence[6]. But in reality even in those cases it is confined to the sole and solitary syllable (i. e. '*ṭi*'),[7] so far as its position within the body of the sentence is taken into account. Let us consider the position of each and every accent *seriatim*.

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1. Vide., *A.*, 1.2.40.
2. Vide., *A.*, 1.2.35.
3. Vide, *A.*, 1.2.32.
4. *ekaśruti dūrāt sambuddhau*, *Kā.* 1.2.33. (*Kā.* = *Kāśikā*)
5. Vide, *Kā.*, 8.2.84.
6. *vākyasya ṭeḥ pluta udāttaḥ*, *Kā.* 8.2.62.
7. Vide, *A.* 1.1.64.

I THE UDĀTTA

The udātta may reside in any place that is to say,
u u u
in the entire word e. g. *yaḥ saḥ kaḥ* etc. It may occur
u u u
initially in a word e. g., *Vāsudevakaḥ arjunakaḥ gārgyaḥ*
u u u
(*Kā*. 6. 1. 197) *Devadatta devā brahmāṇa āgachhata* (6. 1. 198, 8. 1. 72, 1. 2. 38). It may occur medially,
u u
e. g., *bhauriki vidham, cikīrṣakaḥ* (6. 1. 193). It may
u u u
occur penultimately e. g. *karaṇīyam haraṇīyam, paṭujātīyaḥ* etc. (6. 1. 217). It may occur finally
u u u
e. g. *ajiravatī* (6. 1. 220) *rājapuruṣaḥ, brāhmaṇakambalaḥ* (6. 1. 223).

Thus the examples set above prove this fact that the udātta may reside in any part of the word.

Evidently it is concerned with all sorts of vowels when seen from the point of view of the moras (syllabic quantity) also. So it can take its position in any one of the short, long and protracted vowels either nasalised or non-nasalised. Following are the examples of all of them:—

u u
Hrasvodātta *Kanyāsvanaḥ nadīghoṣaḥ* (6. 1. 223).
u
nakhalekhakaḥ (6. 2. 73).

u u
Dīrghodātta *Jaṅghā-vātsyaḥ, bhāryā sauśrutaḥ* /

u
odanapāṇinīyāḥ (6. 2. 69).

u
pāpanāpitaḥ (6. 2. 68).

u u
apāsyā, atṛṇyā (6. 2. 156).

u u
dvipāt, tripāt 6. 2. 197).

u u
govallavaḥ, gomaṇindaḥ (6. 2. 66).

u
aśvādhyakṣaḥ (6. 2. 67).

u
Plutodātta *āgaccha bho māṇavaka Devadatta* 3;

u
saktūn piba Devadatta 3 (*Kā*. 8. 2. 84).

u
*āyuṣmān bhava saumya*3 (8. 2. 86. *SSC. p.* 349).

Ordinarily a word is said to be passessed of one

u u
udātta only (e. g. *agniḥ; karṣaḥ* etc., (6. 1. 158, 159). But there are some special cases where more than one udātta occur simultaneously without encountering any hitch. Examples are the following :

u u u u
Kartavai, hartavai (6. 1. 200).

u u *u u
Vanaspatiḥ Bṛhaspatiḥ (6. 2. 170).

u u u u
Indrāsomau, indrāvaruṇau (6. 2. 141).

These are the examples in which there are two udāttas in each and every one of all of them. The *indrā-* (u) *Bṛhaspati* (u u) and the like are such cases where three udāttas remain within one compounded word.[1] But this kind of occurrence of udāttas is very rare.

It is also quite possible to find numerous udāttas in an immediate succession the instances of which are set forth below :

u u
agniḥ pūrvebhiḥ ... *ṚV* 1. 1. 2).

u u uu
paribhūrasi ... *saiddeveṣu* (*ṚV* 1. 1. 4).

u u
agnirhotā .. (*ṚV* 1. 1. 5).

u u
sūnave'gne (*ṚV* 1. 1. 9.).

u u
Sāsmākebhiretari (*ṚV* 6. 12. 4).

u u
svāduskilāyam (*ṚV* (6. 47. 1).

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* This is ādyudātta also. See *Kā:* 6. 2, 140.

1. Vide, *Kā., Pada Nyā.,* on *A..* 6. 2. 141.

u u
ā yasmintve ṚV 6. 12. 2.

u u
śamindrāsomā (ṚV 7. 35. 1).

uu
tā indrasya (ṚV 7. 47. 3.).

u u
..*yā nu svetā* ṚV 8. 40. 8).

u u
...*indrāganyoranu* (ṚV 8. 40. 8).

u u
ā pra drava (ṚV 8. 82. 1).

u u
Indrāsi (ṚV 8. 98. 5).

u u
tvaṅhinaḥ (ṚV 8. 93 11).

u u
mahānindra (ṚV 1. 8. 5.).

u u
ya eka... ṚV 1. 84. 7).

u u
semām (ṚV 2. 24. 1).

u u
Jaghanvāntvam (ṚV. 4. 42. 7) *etc.*

In these instances mentioned above, two udāttas are residing closely one after another. Examine the following set of instances:

u uu
sa devāṅ eha vakṣati (RV. 1. 1..2)

u u u
tavettat satyam aṅgiraḥ (*RV*. 1. 1. 6).

u u u
vi yo rajānsyamimīta (*RV*. 6. 7. 7).

u u u
sahikṣayeṇa (*RV*. 7. 49. 4).

u u u
pāvakāṣṭā āpo (*RV*. 8. 40. 8.).

u u u
tvaṁ hi śaśvatīnāṁ (*RV*. 8. 98. 6).

u u u
asau ya eṣi (*RV*. 8. 91. 2).

u u u
saṁyadānaḷadhvana (*RV*. 3. 30. 12).

u u u
sva ā dame (*RV*. 2. 35. 7).

u u u
praisaḥ stomaḥ (*RV*. 5. 42. 16) *etc*.

In these and other analogous instances three udāttas are found in very close succession.

It is sure that the irregular occurrence of the udātta accent is most prevalent. It is a common phenomenon that the two udāttas are closely proximate with each other and we have adverted to this fact immediately before. Though the assemblage of three udāttas unintervened by any other accent is not a case of common occurrence, yet this also is found in a number of cases and this fact also has been exemplified above. There are also instances in which four udāttas occur one

after the other without interruption by any other accent. But this type of occurrence of udāttas is very rare. We have come across this type of assemblage of the udāttas in a Vedic passage cited in *Kāśikā* on 1. 2. 37. To

u u u u

be particular, in the extract-*indra āgachha*[1] we see four udāttas in close succession. But even on that occasion, ultimately we find only three udāttas after the *dīrgha*[2] combination between *dra* plus 'ā' both of which are the loci of the two udāttas in the middle. So at last both medial udāttas prove to be not more than one. We have not come across with any such passage where we could have perceived the occurrence of more than four udāttas without any intervention by a different kind of accent. But in the *chef d'oeuvre* of Pāṇini there is no aphorism either prescriptive or prohibitive regarding the number of any type of accent permitted to occur in close succession.

So on some rare occasions there is not total impossibility of occurrence of successive udāttas even in a greater number.

The udātta may be preceded, sometimes by none,

u

e. g. *agne yaṁ yajñaṁ adhvaraṁ*. (*RV*. 1. 1. 4), sometimes

u

by the sannatara, e. g., "*agnim īḷe*." (*ṚV*. 1. 1. 1.),

1. *Subrahmaṇyo 3 mindoāgaccha harivu āgaccha medhātithermeṣa-vṛṣaṇaśvasya mene gaurāvaskandinnahalyāyai jārā kauśikabrāhmaṇa gautama bruvāṇa śvaḥ sutyāmāgaccha maghavan. Vide, Kā., on A*, 1.2.37.

2. *Akaḥsavarṇe dīrghaḥ*. Vide, *A*., 6. 1. 101.

u u u
sometimes by the udātta itself, e. g., sahikṣayeṇa[1] or

u
sometimes by the powerful circumflex e. g.-'*makṣvi 3 tthā*[2],

। u s u
apsva॒*ntaḥ*,[3] *kvavo' śvā.*[4] The udātta may be followed

u u
sometimes by the udātta itself e. g. *semāṃ* ;[5] sometimes by

u
the weak circumflex, e. g. '*agnimīḷe;*[6] sometimes by none

u
e. g. *agniḥ*[7] and seldom by the anudātta too, e. g.,

u u u a u a u *a*
indrāgaccha,[8] *devābrahmāṇa āgacchata*' (Vide, *Kāśikā*-1. 2. 38). It is obvious from this last instance that the anudātta can be found, though on very rare occasion, on both sides i. e. simultaneously before and after an udātta. But it is remarkable that this sort of occurrence is very very uncommon.

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1. *RV*. 7. 46, 2.
2. *RV*., 1. 2. 6.
3. Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, para 87 d, p. 30.
4. *Siddhānta Kaumudī*, on *A.*, 1. 2. 32, p. 9.
5. *RV*. 2. 24. 1.
6. *RV*. 1. 1. 1.
7. *RV*. 1. 1. 2 (during the Padapāṭha).
8. Vide, *Kāśikā*, on *A.*, 1. 2. 37.

The nasalised short, long and prolated vowels also serve as the loci of the udātta accent and this fact has been expounded before. Now we propose to exemplify them below in a proper order : Nasalised short vowels with udātta:

u
indra somamimaṁ piba (*RV*. 10. 24. 1.) .

u
yuvaṁ śakrā (*RV*. 10. 24. 4) .

u
bhadraṁ no (*RV*. 10. 25. 1.) .

u
te prāhaṁ (*RV*. 10. 25. 3) .

u
vrajaṁ gomantam (*RV*. 10. 25. 5) .

u
paśuṁ naḥ (*RV*. 10. 25. 6) .

u
tvaṁ naḥ (*RV*. 10. 25. 7, 8, 9) .

u
ayaṁ (*RV*. 10. 25. 10, 11)

u
imaṁ naḥ (*RV*. 10. 26. 9) *etc*.

Nasalised long vowels with udātta-

u u
avatāṅ iva; camasāṅ iva. (*RV*. 10. 25. 4) .

u
puṣṭīnā ṁ (*RV*. 10. 26. 7) .

u
samudramapāṅ (*RV*. 10. 30. 3) .

u
adhvarāṅ upa (*RV*. 10. 32. 2) .

u
narāṅ abhi (*RV*. 10. 32. 1) .

u
vidvāṅ anu (*RV*. 10. 32. 6) .

u
śraddhāṅ (*RV*. 10 151 . 5) .

u
mahāṅ asya (*RV*. 10. 152. 1.) *etc.*

Nasalised protracted vowels with udātta :

brahma3n tvaṅ rājan (*TS*. 1. 8. 16. 1.) .

suślokāṅ4 sumaṅgalāṅ4 satyarājā3n (*TS*. 1. 8. 16. 2.)[1]

II UDĀTTATARA

The position of the udāttatara remains beyond the bound of any dispute, because of the fact that its occurrence is confined to a particular word in a particular context. The related word in question is 'vauṣaṭ'. This word is employed at the end of the sentence and counts disyllabic. In accordance with the universally

1. *SSC.—Svarasiddhānta candrikā*, S.N. yajvan, ed. by K. S.S. Sastri, Annamalai university, p. 355.

acknowledged view the udāttatara accent lies on the second. That is the last syllable of it.[1] On the initial syllable of it which is a protracted vowel falls the udātta accent (8. 2. 91). So its position is usually determined to the effect that it will always be after the plutodātta, with no other accent following it.

III ANUDĀTTA

It has been told over and again that this is a weak accent. The anudātta surrenders its separate entity and undergoes certain changes while it remains in the close vicinity to another powerful accent. To be elaborate, it has to become sannatara when it happens to be prior to the udātta or the powerful svarita accent.[2] And it is converted into svarita when it occurs immediately posterior to an udātta accent.[3] In the same way, the anudātta either one or more in number is obliged to be transformed into ekaśruti under the influence of the svarita accent which immediately precedes it.[4] So it encounters with such calamities while occurring in the body of the sentence or in the Saṁhitāpāṭha. And very often in the Padapā-

1. 1. 2. 35. *SSC.* pp. 377-78),
2. *Udāttasvaritaparasya sannataraḥ*, Vide. *A.* 1. 2. 40.
3. *Udāttādanudāttasya svaritaḥ*, Vide, *A.* 8. 4. 66.
4. *Svaritāt saṁhitāyām anudāttānām*, Vide, *A.* 1. 2. 39 and also see the *Padamañjarī and Nyāsa* on this very *sūtra*. Haradatta writes "*anudāttānām iti bahuvacanam jātau tena ekasya dvayor bahūnāñca bhavati.*" Jinendra buddhi writes "*anudāttānām iti jātau bahuvacanam/tena dvayorapi bhavati.*

ṭha also in the cases of polysyllabic words it receives such alterations where the powerful accents fall on the syllables remaining in proximity to it. Yet such words also are innumerable where all of the syllables are possessed of the anudātta accent and this anudātta accent alone remains all in all in those words. As a result of it in those cases the anudātta may be regarded to be possibly occurring at any place, that is, initially, medially, finally or penultimately and the like. The words '*īḷe*', '*vakṣati*' and so on and so forth when considered as occurring in the Padapāṭha are found in many places as possessed of the sarvānudātta. With special reference to those words, therefore, the anudātta may be found as preceded by anudātta, succeeded by anudātta preceded and followed by the anudāttas, preceded by none and followed by none. Even in the Saṁhitāpāṭha, there may be some cases where the anudātta in question may not suffer any change and may continue to exist in its own form. To be explicit, in the Saṁhitapāṭha the anudātta occurriug before the sannatara and after the udātta preserves its distinct character. A number of polysyllabic words have the udātta accent on their final, penultimate or medial syllable. If that particular type of word occurs at the initial position of a sentence, then the anudātta accent continues to be on one or more than one initial syllables. To get an anudātta in such words, it is necessary that there should be at least two anudātta-syllables before the udātta or the other powerful accent within the makeup of a word. So far as these two successive anudāttas are taken into account, the subsequent one is converted into sannatara

whereas the preceding one preserves its original nature. Consider the instances that have been set forth below:

aṣṭābhirvikárṣati (Ts. 5. 4. 4. 3).

aṣṭābhyaḥ svāhā (Ts. 7. 2. 13. 1).

ātapāya svāhā (Ts. 7. 1. 17. 1).

1

āgneyaṃ kṛṣṇagrīvaṁ (Ts. 2. 1. 2. 7).

In these cases the first syllables ramain anudatta and the second ones become sannatara. Ponder over

u u

the following set of examples: *rājaputraḥ*, *rājapuruṣaḥ.*,

u u

nṛpatipuruṣaḥ. *mahīpati-sevakaḥ*. All these expressions are compound words formed by means of the ṣaṣṭhī-tatpuruṣa-compound. At the same time they are polysyllabic. As the udatta falls on their last syllables, the last-but-one syllables become sannatara and all the remaining previous ones retain the anudatta accent. Thus from front side, two syllables in the first, three in the second, four in the third, five in the fourth, are immediately successive anudattas. These anudattas belong to the first category of the anudatta which are noticeable in the Saṃhitapaṭha. The second sort of the anudatta which may be found there in the Saṃhitapaṭha is that,which in spite of being preceded by an udatta is, against current, empowered to retain its own character (*devabrāhmaṇoranudāttaḥ*, Vide, *Kā*., 1. 2. 38) that might have been changed into svarita in normal state of affairs. But it should not be forgotten that the occurrence of the

latter type of anudātta is very rare. This type of anudātta deserves to be regarded as exceptionally unique in the realm of accent. It is, however, not liable to denial that such situation does exist that enables an anudātta to remain immediately after udātta which is just contrary to its natural position. We may quote the following mantra as a relevant instance of it :

u uu a u u a u u
indrāgaccha hariva āgaccha. (*Kā.*, 1. 2. 37).

u a u a
devā brahmāṇa āgacchata.

The anudātta accent also just like the udātta is concerned with all the three moras or quantities of vowels, viz., short, long and protracted that may be nasalised and non-nasalised as well. The instances of the short and long vowels possessed of the anudātta accent can be perceived in plenty, no doubt, but the instances of the plutānudātta are limited. Following are the instances of the anudātta falling on protracted vowels :

a
agama3ḥ pūrvā3n grāmā3n agnibhutā3i/

a a
paṭā3u, śobhanaḥ khalvasi māṇavaka 3 (*Kā. 8.2.100*)/

a a
agnicidbhāyā3t/rājacidbhāyā3t (*8.2.101*)

a
uparisvidāsī3t (*Kā. 8.2.102*)/

IV SANNATARA

The sannatara, otherwise called anudāttatara, can occur and reside in ten situations. To be precise (i) it may be preceded by none and followed by the udātta (ii) It may be preceded and followed by the udātta (iii) It

may be preceded by anudātta and followed by the udātta (iv) It may be preceded by svarita and followed by udātta. (v) It may be preceded by ekaśruti and followed by udātta. This set of five sannataras is characterised by a uniformity that all of them are succeeded by the udātta accent. The next pentad of sannatara which we are just going to put forward shares the same feature that all of them precede the powerful svarita accent. (i) One of those sannataras is that which is preceded by none but is followed by the powerful svarita. (ii) Another is that which is preceded by the udātta and followed by the powerful svarita. (iii) Still another is preceded by the anudātta and succeeded by the powerful svarita (iv) Next one is preceeded and succeded by the svarita (v) And the rest one is preceded by the ekaśruti whereas followed by the powerful svarita itself.

In some particular situations its occurrence is quite impossible. To be elaborate, it cannot occur immediately prior to the *anudātta*, *ekaśruti*, weak *svarita* and the *udāttatara* accent as well. But it goes without saying that it does occur and remain before the *svaritīya udātta* owing to the fact that it forms the initial integral part of the svarita immediately before which the anudātta has been taught to be converted into sannatara.[1]

V—SVARITA

It is well known to a Pāṇinist that there is a distinct type of svarita which is as powerful as an udātta.[2] Not

1. For instance see my approved but unpublished Ph. D thesis entitled "Pāṇinian System of Accent" (pp. 107—110) submitted to the Bihar University in 1970.

2. Ordained by *A*. 6. 1. 185 & 8. 2. 4 et seq.

only in the Padapaṭha but in the Saṃhitapāṭha also, thi variety of svarita is capable of maintaining its position even in the close contact with any one of the accent. Just reverse of it is another kind of svarita[1] which either in the words or in the sentences come into being (or passes out of existence) only by dint of the influence of the preceding (or succeeding) udātta (respectively). Thus the svarita also may take its position in diverse ways.

It may remain as the only accent of a word (e. g.
s s
svaḥ, *kva*, etc. It may occur with a sannatara before it (e.g.
s s s s s s
Kanyā, *kāryam*, *hāryam jihīrṣyam*, *cikīrṣyam*, *kumrāyai* etc.
It may reside in between the sannatara and the udātta
s u s u u
accents (e. g. *śakṛlvyāśā*,[2] *khalapvyāśā*[3], *makṣvi tthā*[4], *apsva*-
u
ntaḥ[5]. It may be preceded by none and followed by the
s u
udātta (e. g. *Kvavo'śvāḥ.*[6] *et. seq*). It can occur with another powerful svarita immediately after it (e. g.

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1. enjoined by *A*. 8. 4. 66
2. Vide, *Kāśikā* on *A*. 8. 2. 4. viz., *Udāttasvaritayoryaṇaḥ svarito' nudāttasya.*
3. *ibid.*
4. *RV*. 1. 2. 6.
5. *Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar*, Para 87. d. p. 30.
6. Bhaṭṭoji, *SK*. on *A*. 1. 2. 32. See also Trans. by S. C. Vasu.

ı s
śatacakraṁ yo 3[3] *hyaḥ*).[1] Here the first svarita on '*yo*' is succeeded by another powerful svarita belonging to '*hyaḥ*'. It may occur with the powerful svarita prior to it (e. g., the latter svarita occuring in the instance presented just before). It may be preceded by the udātta and succeded by none (e. g. *bhaṅgurasya, bhāsurasya,* vide, Pāṇinian rules *citaḥ*,[2] and *udāttādanudāttasya svaritaḥ*).[3] It is sometimes preceded by the udātta and followed by the ekaśruti (e.g.
u s u s s
dadati (6. 1. 189), *dadāti, jahāti* (6. 1. 190).

s s
It is also related with the short (*śikyam*) long (*kanyā*) and protracted (e.g. *māṇavaka* 3, vide *Kāśikā*. 1. 2. 32. 33) vowels with nasalisation and non-nasalisation as well.

VI SVARITĪYA-UDĀTTA

The natural position of the *svaritīya Udātta* is that it always precedes the anudātta or the ekaśruti-portion of the svarita itself, undoubtedly with no exception at all. And very often it is preceded by the udātta accent. It is also truism that sometimes it has a sannatara before it. The anudātta (but not ekaśruti)[4] also may occur

1. ibid.

2. Vide, *Kā*. on *A*. 6. 1. 163.

3. Vide, *Kā*. on *A*. 8. 4. 66.

4. The reason is that the latter portion of the svarita is said to be always perceived as anudātta itself, if and when it be followed by another svarita also, '*tasya* (udātta) *svaritaparatve śravaṇaṁ spaṣṭam*-Vide, *SK*. on A. 1. 2. 32. which is an extract from the *Ṛk. Pr.*

immediately prior to it, particularly in a situation where the svarita itself appears in its immediately previous position.

VII EKAŚRUTI

Sometimes on the entire mantra employed during the performance of sacrifice independently falls the ekaśruti accent. Neither initially nor finally resides any other accent in any syllable within the body of the mantra under consideration. Take for instance the following mantra :

agnirmūrdhā divaḥ kakutpatiḥ

pṛthivyā ayam.

apāṁ retānsi jinvato3ṁ (*SSC.*, *p.* 373 and *Kāśikā on A.* 1. 2. 34).

Sometimes the ekasruti of the whole sentence is followed by an udātta on the last syllable of a noun in vocative case occuring at the end of that sentence. As

3 u

for example—*āgaccha bho māṇavaka Devadatta*[1]

But in this selfsame sentence if the noun in vocative case does not stand on the final stage, then the

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1. Vide, *A.*, 8.2.84.

ekaśruti alone has its supremacy over the sentence in its entirety. As for instance :

bho māṇavaka Devadatta āgaccha (*Kā.*, 8.2.84)

According to the normal state of affairs the occurrence of the ekaśruti, always preceded by svarita but not succeeded by any syllable or succeeded by the syllable possessed of the sannatara accent, is a phenomenon of common occurrence. A few relevant instances may be cited in the following order.

u s u s
pacati, āgniveśyaḥ (1.2.39 *padamañjarī*)

u s s u
imaṁ me gaṅge yamune sarasvati śutudri, māṇavaka

s
jatilakādhyāpaka kva gamiṣyasi (*Vide, Kāśikā,*

1.2.39, 40)

In course of dealing with the position of the accent we have noticed this fact in a number of occasions that more than one udāttas take place in close succession and despite their immediacy all of them continue to be in their own form. Likewise the innumerable anudāttas also run together without intervening accent of another type between any two of them, and yet they are called

the anudāttas themselves (e. g. 1.2.29, vide *Kā.*, *Nyā. Pada.*). Now in this context let us consider the case of accent called ekaśruti. This also lies on one or more than one syllables or sometimes on the entire sentence. What is to be taken into consideration here is this that whether the word ekaśruti is expressive of the etymological import, as state the authors of the *Kāśikā*, *Padamañjarī*, and *Nyāsa*- '*ekā samānākārā śrutir yasya, tadidam ekaśruti* (*Kā.* 1.2.33, See 32 also in the *Pada.* and *Nyāsa*). If so then can it not be proper to regard the immediately successive udāttas or anudāttas the cases of ekaśruti? Because in those cases the series of udātta or anudātta syllables are not broken by a different type of effort and the nature of the accent called ekaśruti is to some extent, apprehended the same as has been stated here (*SSC. p* 372). And another aspect of the problem is this. If the accent by means of which the same kind of sounds are produced, is intended to be signified by ekaśruti, then there would be no justification for ordainment of ekaśruti with respect to the anudāttas which succeed the svarita accent. The syllables will by themselves be heard of the same successive (anudātta) accents. The author of the *Padamañjarī* while commenting on the observation of the *Kāśikā* which defines the nature of the latter portion of the svarita accent, expresses his view in the following words :

"*tena bheda-tirodhāna-lakṣaṇamaikaśrutyaṁ parobhāgaḥ pratipadyate|anvartham vā eka śrutitvam|pūrvabhāgaśrutarekā abhinnākārā śrutirasya iti* (vide *Pada* . . . 1. 2. 32).

The author of the *Nyāsa* also has presented two views with reference to the subsequent portion of the svarita, which throw some light on the nature of the ekaśruti. His words are the following:

Udāttavyapadeśaṁ nārhati . . . anudāttavyapadeśam-api nārhati . . tasmād ekaśrutiriti kecit/anye tvāhuḥ. . .pūrva-bhāgaśruterabhinnā ekā tulyākārā śrutiryasyeti kṛtvā/nahita-dānīm pūrvottarabhāgayoḥ svaritaśrutim prati kaścid bh·daḥ asti, dvayorapi udāttaguṇavattayā pratīyamānatvāt iti.

In accordance with the subsequent views presented by both the stalwart Pāṇinists, viz. Haradatta and Jinendra buddhi, the celebrated authors of the *padamañjarī* and *Nyāsa* respectively, the etymological meaning of the term 'ekaśruti' receives support in its favour. But the first meaning provided by both of them make some reference to some sort of its technicality that it can be identified either with the udātta or anudātta. The ekaśruti is that wherein the nature of either the udātta or that of the anudātta is concealed and unrecognisable.

In this state of affairs, it is remarkable that in the cases of the immediate occurrences of more than one udātta, anudātta or svarita, the first type of ekaśruti may not be apprehended there, owing to the fact that the attributes udātta and the like are being observed as not existing in the state of concealment. But it may apparently be argued that if the latter portion of the svarita is regarded as possessed of the ekaśruti attribute on the basis of this fact that it is observed as endowed with

the udātta attribute just like the initial portion of it (the svarita) then the matter does not end here. But there arises a question, why should the ekaśruti of the second sort not be apprehended on occasions of occurrence of series of udāttas or anudāttas ? This presses for a rational answer. It is needless to observe that ekaśruti is not admitted in the cases under discussion. Hence it is reasonable to hold that the expression ekaśruti carries a deeper significance, which is distinct from its *prima facie* meaning. We refrain from pursueing the present discourse owing to the absence of crucial evidence required to clinch the issue.

VIṢṆU PURĪ, THE MAITHIL VAIṢṆAVA SAVANT

TANTRANATHA JHA*

Among the precursors who paved the way for Mahaprabhu Chaitanya Deva, for establishing the Gauriya Vaiṣṇavism, Viṣṇu Purī is a celebrated name and none except Vidyāpati's contributions can be favourably compared with his towards its establishment and spread. That he belonged to Mithila has been testified by himself in his famous book, *Bhaktiratnāvalī* wherein he calls himself a Tairabhukta belonging to Tirabhukti, another name of Mithila. This is corroborated by Maithila traditions which place him in the early 15th century A. D. That he finds a place in Sanskrit as well as Bengali and Brajabhāṣā versions of the *Bhaktamāla* is ample proof of the fact that he has been duly recognised as a Vaiṣṇava Bhakta and Savant throughout Northern India and even beyond. In Bengal itself, he has been very famous. In the authoritative Vaiṣṇava books dealing with the rise and spread of Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal he is mentioned together with his book *Bhaktiratnāvalī* with much reverence. His name finds such mention in

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(1) *Vaiṣṇava-vandanā* and *Vaiṣṇavābhidhāna* of Devakī nandanadāsa, (2) *Chaitanya Bhāgavata* of Vṛndāvanadāsa, (3) *Gaura-gaṇoddeśadīpikā* of Rūpagosvāmī (4) *Bhakti-ratnākāra* of Narahari.

Lauriākṛṣṇadāsa, a disciple of Advaitaprabhu, actually translated the *Bhaktiratnāvalī* in Bengali verse, and various versions of *Bhaktamāla* mention his name with much reverence as a devotee of Viṣṇu and a scholar. An account of his life collected from various sources and corroborated by Maithil traditions is as follows–

Śrīdhara was the maternal grandfather of Candrapati Ṭhākura—the father of Maheśa Ṭhākura, the founder of Darbhanga Raj. Śrīdhara belonged to Karaṁbahā family. This family is one of the highest among Maithil Brahmans, both from the standpoint of scholarship as well as social status. The celebrated Gaṇeśa Jha popularly known as Ganū or Gonū Jha, and famous for his wit and humour, belonged to Karaṁbahā family. Viṣṇupurī whose original name was Ramāpati was the grand-son of Śrīdhara and the son of Ratidhara. They belonged to village Taraunì, a famous village near Sakari (a Rly. Junction of N. E. RlY.) in the district of Darbhanga. It is still famous for the cultivation of grammatical studies in Sanskrit. Ramāpati completed his studies, and after getting married, established himself as a householder and had a son, named Mahādeva born to him.

One day Ramāpati fell out with his wife for some domestic reasons. He was so disgusted that he left his

home and went over to a Shiva temple outside his village and began living there as a recluse. His wife, son and friends failed to bring him back but they persisted in putting pressure on him to revert to the normal life of a householder. Being more disgusted, he left that temple one night and went over to the temple of Śilānath Śiva some fifty miles away in the Tarai of Nepal. There he began practising austerities as a Sādhaka devoted to lord Shiva. His early devotion to lord Śhiva even as a householder is testified by the fact that he had named his son as Mahādeva. After about a year, one night Lord Śilānāth appeared to him in dream and ordered him to be formally initiated into Saṁyāsa as a Vaiṣṇava and He himself initiated him with Dwādaśākṣara mantra of Lord Viṣṇu. So at first a Śaiva, he now became a Vaiṣṇava at the instance of Lord Śilānātha Śiva. He was, thereafter, formally initiated into Saṁyāsa by celebrated Jayadharma, the 8th in ascent in the pedigree of Gurus before the Mahāprabhu and got the new name Viṣṇupurī by which he became famous. Assuming that new name he began roaming all over the country on pilgrimage and for 'Satsaṅga' and passed most of his time at Varanasi, Puri and in Vrindavan. It was at Varanasi that he wrote *Bhaktiratnāvalī* with *Kāntimālā* which made him famous.

In course of time, he became disgusted with the life of a Saṁyāsī. Marrying a new wife, he once again became a householder, had children and passed away at ripe old age. But Maithil society did

not pardon him for taking Saṁyāsa and then reverting to gṛhasthāśrama there after and his children were stigmaticed.

Of his works, only *Bhaktiratnāvalī* with *Kāntimālā* is available in Sanskrit and has been famous among those interested in Vaiṣṇavism. Besides this, he composed songs in his mother tongue Maihtili, first in praise of Śiva and then of Viṣṇu as manifested in different incarnations. Six such songs are available thus in praise of Śiva, two of Kṛṣṇa and one of Rāma. He must have written many more that are either lost or are still to be discovered. But the few songs that are available are enough to establish him as a first rate composer of songs and poetical genius.

To enable the readers to judge for themselves some of those songs with their English rendering are given below :

(१) भमि भमिं पूछे गौरी देह उपदेशे । माइ हे
की देव मनाओन रुसल महेशे ।
खाट तुरँआ सेज हुनि न सोहाबए,
जतहु कतहु बघ छाल ओछाबए ।
क्षीर कपूर पान हुनि न सोहाब,
आक धुथुर-फुल तह्हि भल भाव ।
विष्णुपुरी कह हित उपदेश,
हाथ काँकरा बांध बूढ़ महेश ॥

"Gauri, the white complexioned, roams here and there and asks for advice. Oh mother , What shall I

offer to Maheśa to propitiate him? He does not relish bedstead, quilt and bedding and spreads tiger skin wherever he pleases. He does not like milk and betel with camphor and relishes the flowers of āka and dhūthura and Viṣṇupurī gives the gainful advice; bind kaṅkaṇa on the wrist of old Maheśa." Kaṅkaṇa (Binding on wrist of the bride and the groom is a marriage formality among Maithils)

(२) प्रथम वयस जत उपजल नेह,
एक परान एक जनि देह।
तइसन पेम जदि विसरह मोर
काठहु चाहि कठिन हिअ तोर।
ए प्रभु ठाकुर, न तेजह नारि
तुअ विनु नागर कओन ओहारि।
सु पुरुष चिह्निअ एहे परिनाम
जैसन प्रथम तैसन अवसान।
टुटल पेम नहि लाग एक ठाम
विष्णु पुरी कह बुझसि विराम।

Gopi says to Kṛṣṇa

"Love that sprang up during the prime of our youth made the body and soul of both of us as if one. If you forget such love of mine, then your heart is harder than wood even. Oh distinguished Lord; do not give up the woman (in me). Except you no one can be hers, oh cultured gentleman. The result of recognising an honourable person is this: the beginning and the end are alike (love remains constant from

beginning to end). Viṣṇupurī says,' Broken love does not unite; one should take it as ended)."

(३) हे सखि हे सखि, कहिओ न जाहे
नन्दक अङना कैसन उछाहे।
नन्दक नन्दन त्रिभुवन सारे,
यशोदे पाओल ननुअ कुमारे।
मन भेल हरषित देखि तनु रूपे,
जनि भेल उदित दीप अन्धकूपे।
आशलता पल्लव जनि देला,
मेदिनि सुरतरु आँकुर भेला
विष्णुपुरी कह सुनह गोआरी,
परम-जोति अवतरल मुरारी॥

(One gopavadhū, wife of a cowherd, asks another).

"Well friend! Well friend! why do you not tell me what kind of jubilation there has been in Nanda's household?" The other gopavadhū (the wife of another cowherd) replies—Yaśoda has got a son whose body is as tender as butter and who is the delight of Nanda and quintessence of the three worlds. I became enraptured on observing the exquisite beauty of his body as if a light has appeared in a blind well. And as if, tender leaves have sprouted in the creeper of hope and also as if the kalpataru, (the fabulous tree in Indra's heavenly garden granting all wishes) has germinated on the earth."

Viṣṇu Puri says, "Oh listen, the wife of a cowherd! Murari, the supreme light has appeared on the earth."

This may be noted in conclusion that songs in his mother-tongue Maithili show that quite in keeping with Maithil tradition, he was not a dogmatic doctrinaire Bhakta owing allegiance to a particular manifestation of the Supreme Being, a single divinity, ignoring all others. He was a Vaiṣṇava and ordinarily he should have sung in praise of only Viṣṇu and at best His many incarnations, and not of Shiva of the Paurāṇic Trinity, even after being initiated into Vaiṣṇavism as the colophon of his Śaiva song shows. This catholicity of recognising all forms of divine manifestion is a marked characteristic of Maithil tradition and Viṣṇu Purī's Śaiva songs offer the best examples of it.

Viṣṇu Purī's other three songs available to me are given below :

(१)

गाबह हे माइ मंगल गीती, रामक राज्य सबहुँ भल नीति।
ऐहव सुहव के दीअ हकार, विलहिग्र सिन्दुर अग्रोर पिठार।
कौशल्या देइ मन भए गेल आनन्द, जनि जग उपजल सहस्रदश चन्द।
छोटा बड़ा हाथ दिअग्रो तमोर, शंखक सवद नगर होअ सोर।
रामदेवशिर वान्धिअ पाग, अव ए अवधपुर जागल भाग।
विष्णुपुरी कह सुनग्रो नरनारि, पुरुष पुरातन नृप असुरारि॥

(२)

तपसिआ। तोरतपे केओन भिखारी, पबलह राज कुमारी।
तपसिग्रा। मोर मुख देखि देखि हस, तोरा मुख कतरूप बस।
तपसिआ। जटा जूट फोट गाढे चन्दा, जानि जानल धुरिफन्दा।

तपसिआ। फूल तोरल मञ आस, सेओ गेल वसहक घास।
तपसिया। विष्णुपुरीमनभाव, ओहे जोगी जगत किसान।

(३)

भल शिवशङ्कर भोरा, बुझल जतीपन तोरा, अति गोरा लो।
तपोवने अछल तपसी, थिकह सकलगुनरसी, शिर शशीलो।
जप तप सब दुर गेला, रमणि रङ्ग मन देला, इ की भेला लो।
कपट बोलथि मधुवानी, हरलन्हि मोरभवानी, अति ज्ञानी लो।
कान्हहि रुण्डेरिमाला, पहिरन बाघरिछाला, फणिमाला लो।
विष्णुपुरी शिवदासे, परिपूरथु मोर आसे, दिगवासे लो।

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CASE-TERMINATIONS AND PADAPĀṬHAKĀRA'S SYSTEM OF ANALYSIS

V. N. JHA*

1.0 *The Thesis*

In the *Padapāṭha* (Pp) of the *ṚV*, out of the twenty one case-terminations, only-*bhiḥ*[1] (3/3)-*bhyām* (3-5/2), -*bhyaḥ* (4-5/3) and-*su* (7/3) have been separated by the *avagraha* sign. Other case-suffixes have not been separated from the bases.

1.1 *Method adopted for the analysis* :

All these four suffixes have been grouped in two sets on the ground of voicedness and voicelessness of the initial phoneme. Therefore,-*bhiḥ*,-*bhyām* and,-*bhyaḥ* form one set, and-*su* forms the other. In the case of first set the treatment given is as follows :–

1.1.1 *Treatment in the case of vowel-stem* :

The case-suffixes beginning with *bh* are separated if the oblique stem ends in a short vowel, but not after an oblique base ending in long vowels.

A single case of deviation from this treatment is

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1. Also -*yā*, an allomorph of -*nā* (3/1), has been separated from the oblique base ending in *u* e.g / *sādhu s yā* /, /*dhṛnu s yā*/, /*āśu s yā*/ etc.

attested in *RV*.[2] Throughout the system of analysis, it is observed that even with the compound base if it occurs in a separable environment i.e., if the oblique base of compound ends in a short vowel,-*bhiḥ*,-*bhyām* and-*bhyaḥ* are separated. Here the principle of ICA is followed. The cut occurs after the immediate constituent. Thus, *dravatpāṇibhiḥ dravat pāṇi/bhiḥ*[4] / *nṛbāhubhyām* / *nṛbāhu-bhyām*;/[5] *daśābhīśubhyaḥ/daśābhīśu-bhyaḥ*[6]. Sometimes, the *Padakāra* prefers initial separation, i. e., *devakarmebhiḥ*, *apodakābhiḥ*, *ṛksāmābhyām*, *daśayoktrebhiḥ* etc. have been analysed as/*deva-karmebhiḥ*;[7] /*apa-udakābhiḥ*[8]/*ṛk-sāmābhyām*[9] /*daśa-yoktrebhiḥ*/[10] etc. because here the compound base does not end in a short vowel. But in the case of *kavāribhyaḥ* the *Pp* is found as /*Kava s aribhyaḥ*[11] where eventhough the oblique base offers a separable environment i. e., *kavāri*-, the suffix *bhyaḥ* is not separated but the base has been analysed. This might be an error or his intention might have been to show that one should not form the notion that *Kavāri*- is one word which

2. See fn. 11.
3. *RV* 8.5.35.
4. *Op. cit.*, 9.111.2.
5. *Op. cit.*, 9.72.5.
6. *Op. cit.*, 10.94.7.
7. *Op. cit.*, 10.130.1.
8. *Op. cit.*, 1.116.3.
9. *Op. cit.*, 10.85.11,114.6.
10. *Op. cit.*, 10.94.7.
11. *Op. cit.*, 10.107.3.

does not admit further analysis.[12] To show this he might have deviated from his usual procedure.

1.1.2. *Treatment in the case of consonant-stem .*

(a) These three suffixes (*-bhih,-bhyām,-bhyaḥ*) are always separated after consonantal base, at the same time oblique bases which are if modified by *saṁdhi* are shown in their original forms.[13] Thus the treatment given to the analysis after consonantal base is complete and consistent.

(b) For *-su*, the following analysis is adopted :

(i) *In the case of a vowel-stem :*

No analysis is given if the vowel-stem ends in either a short or a long vowel.

(ii) *In the case of a consonant-stem :*

-su is always separated from the stem if it is not affected by any phonetic change i.e., if it is not cerebralised.

There is a single exception to this rule and perhaps this is an analogical[14] error, namely, *dhūrṣu* has been

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12. Two more forms like *akavāriḥ* (RV 7.96.3) and *akavāriam* (3.47.5,6.19.11) are found. There also *-Kavāri* -has been explained as *akava+ariḥ* and *akava+arim.*

13. Even an original voiced consonant has also been shown as devoiced eg. *hṛdbhiḥ/hṛt s bhiḥ/.* For this there was some difference of opinion which is recorded in the *ṚP* 1. 3/ *varge varge ca soṣmāṇāvanunāsikontyaḥ | tasmādanyamavasāne prathamāvaghoṣau yugmau* *tṛtīyam gārgyaḥ sparśam prathamaṁ śākaṭāyanaḥ/.*

14. Perhaps on the analogy of *dhūrṣadah/dhūh s sadaḥ/* (RV 2. 34. 4.), *dhūrṣadam / dhūh s sadam /* (*RV* 1.143.7).

analysed as /*dhūḥ s su*/[15] where eventhough the -*s* of *su* is cerebralised, it has been separated and shown in its original form. This is not his usual treatment as evidenced in / *gīrṣu/gīrṣu*[16] /, *haviṣṣu/haviṣṣu*[17] /, *vikṣu* / *vikṣu*/[18] etc.

This is the description of the method adopted by the *Padakāra*. A table, at the end, will make the picture clear.

2.0 *The Pp. of the other Vedas.*

In *AV* and *YV* (*Vāj.*) also the same method has been adopted by the respective *Padapāṭhakāras* in the case of words ending in the four case-suffixes under discussion. Here also the other case-terminations are not found separated.

3.2 *The Pp. and the Prātiśākhyas*

The *Ṛkprātiśākhya* formulates no rule for the *Pp.* of *RV* except recording here and there the cases where the *avagraha* has not been used.[19] Of course, the other *Prātiśākhyas*, namely, *Vājasaneyī-Prātiśākhya* (*VP*) and the *Atharvaveda–Prātiśākhya* (*AP*) have phrased rules for *Pp.* The formulation of these rules is purely based on

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15. *RV* 1.100.16 ; 3.35,2, etc.

16. *Op. cit.*, 8.92.7.

17. *Op. cit.*, 9.7.2.

18. *Op. cit.*, 1.45.6, 2.4.2.

19. See my paper "On the two Ṛgvedic-compound-forms : *rathaspati* and *vanaspati*" 1.2.

the data before them. They simply describe them through the rules. Evidently, they never bother to find out why such a method for word-analysis has been adopted. Thus *VP* offers the following description on our present point :

3.1 *hrasvavyañjanābhyāṁ bhakārādau vibhaktipratyaye* :[20] '(*Avagraha* takes place) before a case-termination beginning with *bh*, if it is preceded by a short vowel or a consonant'.

As an exception to this, the word *asmabhyam* as a non-analysed form has been given in a separate list,[21] whereas *tubhyam* has not been recorded, perhaps by oversight.[22]

3.2 *sviti cānatan*[23] : 'Also (before the case-termination) *-su*, if it is not cerebralized, (*avagraha* takes place)'.

3.3 *AP* offers four rules instead of the two mentioned by *VP*. They run as under :–

(a) *bhirbhyāṁbhyaḥsu* :[24] '*-bhiḥ*, *- bhyām*, and *- bhyaḥ* (are separated by *avagraha*).'

The condition for such a separation which is not mentioned in this rule, is hinted indirectly in another rule :

20. *VP*, V. 13. The English translation of this Sūtra is based on Indu Rastogi's translation of the text.

21. *Op. cit.*, V. 35 : *janayatyā oṣadhayo vṛṣāyisata nadu canāsmabhyamajāvayo valagam.*

22. *Whitney*, *AP*, iv. 31, p. 301.

23. *VP*, V. 14.

24. *AP*, IV. 31., Mainly *Whitney's* translation is followed here;

(b) *na dīrghāt* :[25] (*Avagraha* is) not (allowed in the case of an oblique base ending) in a long syllable.

So far the *-su* ending is concerned *AP* formulates (c) *sau ca*[26] and (d) *vināme ca*[27] according to which *su* is also capable of being separated if the *s* is not retroflexed.

Thus the descriptive observation made by the *VP* and *AP* are at par with the Ṛgvedic *Pp.* system, about which *ṚP* is silent eventhough it is based on the Ṛgvedic *Pp.* These are the rules provided by the ancient texts.

4.0 *THE ANTI-THESIS*

Now, the main question before us which has neither been tackled by the *Prātiśākhyas* nor been investigated by the modern scholars is what was the intention of *Padapāṭhakāra* in adopting this analysis.

(a) Is it a morphemic analysis (stem-suffix analysis) ?

(b) If so, then why out of twentyone case-suffixes only four are subjected to separation and not all as shown above ?

(c) Why is the stem-suffix-analysis given after short-vowel-base or base ending in a consonant, and not after other bases ?

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25. *Op. cit.*, IV.33.
26. *Op. cit.*, IV.32.
27. *Op. cit.*, IV.34.

(d) Why is *-su* even after short-vowel-base not separated, as a stem is separated from *-bhiḥ*, *-bhyām*, and *-bhyaḥ* ?

Let us take these problems one by one.

4.1 The first question may be answered as follows : *Padakāra* intends to give some kind of morphemic analysis of the Ṛgvedic *ṛks*. The analysis, however, is not a complete morphemic analysis in the strict sense of the term as it is understood to day by the modern linguists. Because, in a complete morphemic analysis each and every complete word is segmented in its constituent meaningful units. Thus not only these four but also all the twenty one case-terminations as well as the compound-stems should be separated. But even with the compound bases consisting of more than one morphemes only one *avagraha* is used i. e., one cut is shown. Therefore, this is not a morphemic analysis in its proper sense.[28] But in any case, the analysis given by the *Padakāra* presupposes a concept of stem-suffix analysis.

4.2 This leads to the second question : Why only four case-terminations are selected for segmentation. The reasons behind this appear to be as follows:—

(a) It should always be kept in mind that the *padakāra* intends to analyse words into *padas*.

28. I do not agree with S.K. Belvalkar's statement: 'A further advance was made by the constitution of *padapāṭha* ....which...... gave *each suffix* or termination of the noun separately'. *System of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 4. We have got only four case-suffixes separated.

(b) According to *Padakāra*, the stems preceding -*bhiḥ*,-*bhyām*,-*bhyaḥ* and -*su* i.e., suffixes beginning with consonant can alone be termed as *pada* but not stems preceeding a case-suffix which begins with a vowel. This concept of the technical term *pada* is same as that used in the Paṇinian Grammar[29] with exception of case-suffixes beginning with *y* which make the preceeding base *pada* and lengthened bases before these *bha*[30] unlike Pāṇinian concept, as we have seen in the case of / *sādhu* s *yā*,/ /*āśu* s *yā* /etc.[31]

4.2.1 Thus, the *Padakāra* indicates separation only in those cases in which the definition of *pada* as stated by *Pā*., with some restricted sense, applies. He does not indicate separation in the other cases i.e. in the case of *bha*, with the exception of long bases and suffixes beginning with *y*. Moreover, in selecting the suffixes *bhiḥ*, *bhyām*, *bhyaḥ* the *padakāra* intends to explain one more point. He wants to restore the original consonant which suffers change due to euphonic treatment. It is quite clear that such euphonic change in the stem ending in a consonant occurs throughout the paradigm, before these - *bhiḥ*, *bhyām* and *bhyaḥ* only. Thus in the case of stems ending in consonants followed by suffixes begin-

29. See Pā. 1.4.14, 1.4.17. -s(1/1) is not separated to *sarvanāmasthānatva*.

30. See Op. cit. 1.4.18.

31. See fn. 1.

ning with a vowel the final consonant does not undergo any phonetic modification, whereas in the other cases where *pada-saṁjñā* is phonologically conditioned, the final sound receives phonetic change and offers thereby a scope to the *Padakāra's* method of analysis, e.g. *dadbhiḥ* dat s *bhiḥ*[32], *paḍbhiḥ/paṭ* s *bhiḥ*[33], *tapobhiḥ tapaḥ* s *bhiḥ*[34] etc.

4.3 In answer to the third question attention can be drawn to the following observations :—

(1) *Padapāṭhakāra*'s concept of *pada* with respect to case-endings excludes bases ending in a long vowel. Because,

(a) the lengthened feminine bases in *ā*, *ī*, *ū* are not considered as a *Prātipadika*[35]

(b) The change *a*>*ā* before-*bhyām* as in *hastābhyām*, *devābhyām* etc. and *a*>*e* before *-bhiḥ* and *-bhyaḥ* as in *devebhiḥ*, *Karmebhyaḥ* etc. are not phonologically conditioned but morphologically as it is so in the case of *tamobhiḥ* where separation is made. Probably this is the reason on the part of Pāṇini for not taking the help of *pada-saṁjñā*, but of *aṅga-saṁjñā* in

32. RV. 8.43.3, 10.68.6.

33. *Op. cit.*, 4.2.12 etc.

34. *Op. cit.*, 7.1.7.

35. cf. *nyāpprātipadikāt* (Pā. 4.1.1) and *prātipadikārthaliṅga* (2.3.46) where Pā. also does not consider *nibanta* and *ābanta* bases as *prātipadika*, Also. see K.C. *Chatterjee, Technical terms and technique of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 69.

lengthening of *a*>*ā* or *a*>*e* before-*bhyām*,-*bhiḥ*, -*bhyaḥ*. For the same reason -*ya* (4/1) and /*nām* (6/3) are also not separated [36].

Thus, in *dhītibhiḥ*[37], *nidhibhiḥ*[38], *tantubhiḥ*[39], *nama-uktibhyaḥ*[40] *aktubhyaḥ*[41] etc. the bases preceeding the case-suffixes are *padas* at the same time *prātipadikas*. In *tapobhiḥ marudbhyaḥ*[42] phonological change has been analysed. In *rājabhyaḥ*[43], *hastibhiḥ*[44], *aśvibhiḥ*[45] that the final *n* is dropped due to its being *pada* is shown. But in the case of *hastābhyām*,[46] *devebhiḥ*[47], *nadībhiḥ*[48] etc. he can not show because in that case there will be confusion whether *hastā*-, *deve*-, *nadī*- etc. are characterised by phonological change.

(c) One more reason for not indicating seperation through not assigning *pada-saṁjñā* to morphologically conditioned long bases might be that if he would have analysed the morophological conditioning he would have gone far away

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36. *nāmi ca, supi ca* (Pā. 7.3.10.2) *bahuvacane jhalyet* (Pā. 7.3.103) etc. are applied after *aṅgasya* (Pā 6.4.1).

37. 1.22.14 etc.

38. *Op. cit.*, 10.179.2.

39. *Op. cit.*, 10.1301.1.

40. *Op. cit.*, 8.4.6.

41. *Op. cit.*, 10.89.11.

42. *Op. cit.*, 1.64.1, etc.

43. *Op. cit.*, 1.139.7, etc.

44. *Op. cit.*, 5.64.7.

45. *Op. cit.*, 6.45.21.

46. *Op. cit.*, 10.137.7.

47. *Op. cit.*, 1.1.5, etc.

48. *Op. cit.*, 5.41.19.

from *saṁhitā-pāṭha* which falls beyond the scope and intention of his *padapāṭha*. For example, if he indicates the separation of *nadībhiḥ* as *nada+bhiḥ*, he goes far away from his primary purpose to preserve *Saṁhitā*-text.

(d) In the case of *gobhiḥ*[49] and *naubhiḥ*[50] probably he is either not sure whether the stems are *gāv-* and *nāv-* which occur before a case termination beginning with a vowel or *go-* and *nau-* which occur before consonant, or in order to maintain symmetry with other long bases mentioned above he might not have separated these cases. Although in *go s pati*,[51] he separates *go* as a constituent of a compound, this must not be taken to mean that the *Padakāra* is certain about the stem-form *go*. What he wants to indicate is that *patiḥ* is definitely a separate constituent which must be separated from the preceding word form. This is not a stem-suffix analysis but a constituent analysis of compound. Moreover, here *pada-saṁjñā* is different from that before case-termination.

4.4 To the fourth problem : Why does he not

49. *Op. cit.*, 1.7.3, etc.

50. *Op. cit.*, 1.116.3 ; 8.83.3.

51. *Op. cit.*, 1.101.4.

separate - *su* after even the short vowel bases ? I offer the following suggestion.

From the data that we have, it is clear that the *Padakāra* does not separate -*su* when a phonetic change has taken place i.e. when *su* is changed to *ṣu*. In *tapobhiḥ*, the phonetic change *as* to *o* is conditioned by *bhiḥ*. To indicate *prātipadika* separation is made. It appears that the *Padakāra's* *avagraha* comes whenever he wants to restore the *prātipadika* form affected by phonological change. His main purpose seems to indicate any change in the *pada* part and not that in the *pratyaya* part. So whenever he wants to indicate the original stem or constituent of a compound which contains a retroflexed *s* he will necessarily indicate it. But he will not do so if the *s* belongs to the suffix. Therefore, *puruṣṭuta* has been analysed as *puru* s *stuta*/,[52] *suṣutasya* as *su* s *sutasya*[53] *suṣupāṇam* as *susupānam*[54] *barhiṣado* as *barhi* s *sadaḥ*[55] and so on. In the case of *ṣu* the cerebralization is not phonologically conditioned but morphologically conditioned, so he does not separate.[56] This shows that his use of the *avagraha* is limited to indicating the original form of a stem which has undergone a change that is phonologically conditioned.

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52. *Op. cit.*, 3.4.2, 45.5, 52.6.
53. *Op. cit.*, 3.50.2, 53.2,
54. *Op. cit.*, 4.19.3.
55. *Op. cit.*, 10.15,4.
56. *ādeśapratyayoḥ* (Pa. 8.3.59).

5.0 SYNTHESIS

The above observations lead to the following synthetic conclusions :

(1) So far the descriptive method of analysis is concerned, whatsoever method he has adopted is consistent with only two cases of deviations.

(2) *Padapāṭhakāra's* analysis is not a stem-suffix analysis in the strict sense of the term, but a *pada*-analysis. Had it been a stem-suffix analysis *nāmabhiḥ, yuvabhyām, ājasu, karmasu* etc. should have been analysed as *nāman+bhiḥ, yuvan+bhyām, rājan+su, karman+su* etc. and not as *nāmas+bhiḥ*[57] *yuva+bhyām*[58] *rāja+su*[59] *karma+su*[60] etc. as we find in the *pada*-text.

(3) Only the four case-suffixes have been taken for *pada*-analysis, simply considering the stems, followed by these suffixes, as *pada* under the mentioned conditions.

(4) These forms again, have been treated in two different ways according to their initial voicedness and devoicedness (a) considering final syllabic change of the stem followed by the suffixes beginning with *bh* on one hand and (b) phonetic change of the suffix *-su* on

57. RV. 1.155.5, etc.

58. *Op. cit.*, 1.108.2.

59. *Op. cit.*, 8.101..5

60. *Op. cit.*, 8.38.1; 10.131.4.

the other. Thus, *dadbhiḥ*, *aṣṭhīvadbhyām*, *marudbhyaḥ* are found in the *Pp* as *dat s bhiḥ*/, *aṣṭhīvat s bhyām*[61] and/*marut s bhyaḥ* and *pathyāsu*, *ṛṣiṣu*, *bāhuṣu*, *apsu*, *devayatsu*, *karmasu* as|*pathyāsu*[62]/ *ṛṣiṣu*[63]/*bāhuṣu*[64]/*ap s su*[65]/*devayat su*[66]|and/*karma* s *su*/respectively.

(5) The treatment done with the consonantal stems, is perfect and based on sufficient linguistic ground, than that done with vowel stems.

(6) *Padakāra's avagraha* never explains morphological conditioning. That is why, it explains *puruṣṭuta* but not *puruṣu ṛṣiṣāt* etc. the cerebralization of which is morphologically conditioned and not phonologically.

(7) The concept of the term *pada* (internal) as pictured in *Padapāṭha* represents pre-Pāṇinian concept of the term on which Pāṇini made improvement and generalised it on scientific ground to mean internal *pada* preceded by suffix beginning with a consonant except *y*. For *y* Pāṇini characterised it with two concepts (1) *y* as a *bha*- marker and (2) *y* as a *pada*-marker. All these, will be more clear when

61. *Op. cit*, 10.163.4,
62. *Op. cit.*, 10.63.15.
63. *Op. cit.*, 10.71.3.
64. *Op. cit.*, 1.166.10; 8.20.11; 101.13.
65. *Op. cit.*, 1-23.192; etc.
66. *Op. cit.*, 10.69.7.

the whole data with other suffixes will be analised separately. For the present context of the treatment of the case-endings, let me conclude with the following summary of observation.

(i) *Padas* are separated, unless they are in *prātipadika*-form ; *bha*-cases are not analysed.

(ii) In the *pada*, if a change is phonologically conditioned *padakāra* will show that and will restore the *Prātipadika* thereby.

(iii) But if a change is morphologically conditioned, he will never show separation.

(iv) That is why, the grammar taught by the *Prātiśākhyas* mainly deals with phonology and very little with morphology.

But in any case, the system on which the *Pp* is based reveals a vivid picture of an analytical mind of the epoch which, in its natural course of development, later on gave birth to a most perfect operative and generative machine for language-analysis like Pāṇinian Grammar.**

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SOME PROBLEMS OF INDIAN LITERATURE AFTER INDEPENDENCE

PRABHAKAR MACHWE

1. *Introductory Remarks* :

'ekaṁ Sad viprā bahudhā vadanti—Ṛgveda

(Truth is One; Wise men call it differently.)

'Though written in fourteen languages, Indian literature is one'.

Indian Culture is rightly compared by Tagore to a lotus of hundred petals balanced on one stem. It is similar to a multi-faceted gem. It is like a wheel which has many arcs and sectors, but the axel is one. It is a mansion with many rooms, doors and windows, but its foundation is one and the same. It is like a banyan tree with many off-shoots and branches in several directions, but the basic roots are deep and solid.

Indian literature is very old and yet very new. It is both traditional and modern. It is renovating itself and experimenting eternally. It is in the process of a constant discovery. So, historically speaking, what is the span of a quarter of a century (1947–72) in the long recorded history of three thousand years and still many more milleniums of unrecorded period ? And yet how crowded with events, how full of rapid expansion and development in all fields have been these fruitful years

after independence–through somewhat trying too and equally challenging, as inclement weather sometimes with drought and at others with floods obstructed the progress; and some aggressions and border-violations, privations inflicted by armed forces of neighbouring nations on innocent millions, who trekked their homeless, devastated, unwanted and forced exodus in our land—were entirely man-made calamities and many of them avoidable indeed. Thus it is full of many paradoxes and contradictions, complex and vast as it is.

There are many difficulties in such an exhaustive study of a particular period of Indian Literature. Publication activity has tremendously increased and no one can physically keep track of all the literary books. No one can claim to know all the Indian languages. There are no ready tools available for such information. Even the quarterly National Bibliography, published from National Library, Calcutta is not very up-to-date. Secondly, even if one reads some major Indian languages and tries to keep in the know of significant publications in them, and knows something about other languages through translations and survey articles, it will be too facile to pass any generalization. It will be an over-simplification. Thirdly, *this article is meant to be informative and not evaluative or as giving verdict.*

For example I quote from an article on "Indian Publishing: Recent Trends" by C.R. Banerji, published in the *Indian Literature*, October-December, 1966.

"During the year 1965–66 a total number of 20,185 titles were received by the National Library, Calcutta,

under the provisions of the Delivery of Books (Public Libraries) Act, 1954. Statewise and languagewise break-down of these titles are given below :—

Statewise

Andaman and Nicobar	3
Andhra Pradesh	1351
Assam	120
Bihar	417
Delhi	5900
Goa, Daman and Diu	1
Gujarat	699
Himachal Pradesh	320
Jammu and Kashmir	58
Kerala	700
Madhya Pradesh	529
Madras	1936
Maharashtra	3035
Manipur	65
Mysore	431
Nagaland	4
Orissa	446
Punjab	670
Rajasthan	204
Tripura	52
Uttar Pradesh	1118

West Bengal	2126
Total	20185

Languagewise

Assamese	64
Bengali	1422
English	10347
Gujarati	922
Hindi	2376
Kannada	241
Kashmiri	10
Malayalam	573
Oriya	120
Punjabi	167
Sanskrit	207
Tamil	947
Telugu	518
Urdu	372
Other languages	287
Total	20185

Now out of these books, languagewise books on various subjects are further given in different charts. Total number of books under the category 'Literature',

published in 1966, is 3121, the highest number being in Marathi 595 and next to that in Bengali 584. Hindi and Tamil follow by the respective numbers of 491 and 305.

Commenting on these subjectwise publications C.R. Banerji says: "In most of the Indian languages, the largest number of books are on literature. Hindi and Gujarati are exceptions. Hindi has published largest number of titles, viz. 674, on Social sciences. In Gujarati the same number of titles are available on Literature and Social sciences... ....Works of fiction predominate in the group of literature. This may be best illustrated by an analysis of the literary works published in Bengali:

	Poetry	Drama	Fiction	Miscellaneous	Total
1964–65	73	105	278	80	536
1965–66	99	36	376	73	584

"Literature also predominates the translated works. 842 translations were published in 1965, of which 294 were titles relating to literature.

"Hindi tops the list with 185 translations. Marathi is second with 135 and Gujarati is third with 114 translations. Of the 842 translations, 330 were translated from one Indian language into another. 119 translations are from Sanskrit works. Among modern Indian languages largest number of translations were from Bengali. But the popularity of Bengali literature appears to be on the decline. Four years ago 106 Bengali books were translated into modern Indian languages. But in 1965 only 59 Bengali books have been translated.

Translations from Hindi number only 47. The largest number of translations were from books in English viz. 402, Russian is the next popular language with 30 translations.

"The export of Indian publications abroad shows no improvement. In 1961-62 India exported books and pamphlets worth Rs. 74,77,162/-. In 1965-66 this figure came down to Rs. 60,30,600/-."

This extract from an article is six year old, yet very revealing. May be during the last six or seven years, publishing activity has increased by 30%. But some facts continue that half of the total output of books published in India are in English; and half of them are on technical scientific subjects. In spite of the World Book Year internationally celebrated, India still needs more and more books, more and more paper, printing machinery, libraries and literacy drives.

When Britishers left India, the literacy was 20%. Now it is nearing 34%. When Britishers left India there were only 20 Universities. Now they are nearing 90. When Britishers left India, there were 20 radio stations. Now they are nearing 77.

All this back-ground material is necessary to understand the literary development in Indian languages during last 25 years. Now we shall turn to the complex language-pattern of India.

2. Languages and Literature of India:

For an outsider India would appear to be Tower of Babel. The Census Report of 1961 listed a total of

826 languages, including 1652 mother-tongues. Now the figures available of the Census Report of 1971 are as follows :—

The population is 547 millions in which 47,95,72,850 are languages-speaking persons. Out of these, 67 million persons have given their mother-tongues, which are not in the VIII Schedule of the Indian Constitution. Out of the remaining, the numbers of speakers of some important languages are given below. In case of English, the number given is of those, who claim in India English as their mother-tongue :

Hindi	16,25,77,612	(Nearly 34%)
Telugu	4,47,07,694	
Bengali	4,45,21,533	
Marathi	4,17,23,893	
Tamil	3,75,92,794	
Urdu	2,86,00,428	
Gujarati	2,56,56,274	
Malayalam	2,19,17,430	
Kannada	2,15,75,019	
English	1,91,579	
	(and so on)	

In general, the speakers of Indo-Aryan languages in India are 356 millions; while those of Dravidian are 123 millions. There are also speakers of tribal languages and Sino.—Tibetan languages and many languages which are not listed in the VIII Schedule.

The relative number of speakers of these languages in 1961 Census was as follows :

Hindi	133,435,360	(This did not include Bihari – 16,806,776; Rajasthani-14,933,016; Maithili--nearly 5 million), It was estimated that 9,600,000 people from the non-Hindi-speaking groups can follow Hindi.
Telugu	37,668,132	
Bengali	33,888,939	
Marathi	33,286,771	
Tamil	30,562,706	
Urdu	23,323,518	
Gujarati	20,304,404	
Kannada	17,415,827	
Malayalam	17,015,782	
Oriya	15,719,398	
Punjabi	10,950,826	
Assamese	6,803,465	
Kashmiri	1,956,115	(This did not include Dogri—876,000)
Sindhi	1,371,932	

Sanskrit	2,544	(In 1951 Census the figure was 555 only)
Konkani	13,52,363	
Nepali	1,000,000	

English was listed to be understood by 2.4% of the population. In spite of 150 years of British rule and all attempts at propogating English through Institutes of English *et al,* and though English is a compulsory subject in all universities except a few Hindi and Sanskrit-medium universities.

Here in this survey we shall try to confine our enquiry to written literature published in book-form only, primarily in the 15 languages recognised by the Indian Constitution and also in the five languages recognized as literary languages by the Sahitya Akademi i.e., English, Dogri, Maithili, Rajasthani and Manipuri. It is not possible to know their detailed development.

Here a note of warning may be mildly given in the beginning that though according to the Constitution all national languages are equal, their historical and geographical conditions have not made their development even through centuries before 1947. So Sanskrit was no more in vogue after 9th century, but Tamil, an equally if not older language, has a continuous long tradition of unbroken usage; Assamese could not infilterate all the hills and tribal-dwellers inhabiting them round and inside old Assam province. Many border-areas are bilingual. Some languages do not as yet have standard grammars or lexicons, though their literary heritage is

rich. Particular attention should be drawn towards the plight of languages which do not have one specific 'linguistic state' or area assigned to them. Sanskrit, Urdu, Sindhi and English are such four main languages without any fixed territorial jurisdiction.

Indian literary output is still further burdened with another serious problem of so many different scripts. In Western Europe languages may be different but they, have one common Roman script; in USSR languages may be different, but majority of them have one script; so also is there in other countries in the world where bi-lingual, tri-lingual or multilingual situation exists (Canada, Switzerland, China and some African nations). But in India common scripts are to some extent only in the following groups :

SCRIPTS	*LANGUAGES*
1. Devanāgarī:	Hindi, Marathi, Sanskrit, Nepali.
2. Arabo–Persian:	Urdu, Sindhi, Kashmiri.

Roman is used in English and some languages like Army-Hindustani, Christian–Konkani, Naga and other dialects and so on.

The rest of the languages have their own independent scripts and even different number also. This adds to the complexity of this vexed problem.

The state Re-organization Report in 1953 redrew the map of India on the basis of languages and thereby a spade of many forces hitherto hidden have been unleashed. Every language–group is strongly conscious

of its own identity, minority or majority character whatever it be, and certain reactions have also been strongly felt after the partition of India. Sindhis were left without a homeland; Punjabis and Bengalis were divided. Many Urdu speaking people (including writers) went away to West Pakistan. All this does affect literary creation and readership too. A new trend is the growing use of dialects in regional novels, short stories and plays. The Purnia (Bihar) dialects in the Hindi novel *Maila Anchal*; the dialects of Marathi are used in many Marathi novels; Pothohari in Punjabi plays and so on. This is a fascinating subject in itself.

3. *Prominent Events That Influenced Literature*

On August 15, 1947 India became independent. This event was a matter of great joy and several poems were written in honour of New and Free India. I still remember the poems of Balkrishna Sharma '*Navin*' in Hindi '*Ajkal*' of Josh Malihevadi in Urdu *Ajkal*, A. R. Deshpande '*Anil*' in Marathi *Abhiruchi*, and so many others expressing the great joy after a long drawn nationalist struggle.

But this independence was not an unmixed joy. It was accompanied with the partition of the country, the long exodus and communal frenzy and blood-bath. Many moving poems and short stories and reportage were written on these events, particularly in Punjabi, Urdu and Bengali, the languages, which were most influenced by the division. I remember the stories and

novels like *Tola Tek Singh* by Mants, *Sardarj* by Khwaja Ahmed Abbas, *Sharanarthi* by Agyeya, *Peshawar Express* by Krishen Chandra in Urdu and Hindi, *Train to Pakistan* by Khushwant Singh in English, Syed Abdul Malik's stories in Assamese, Amrita Pritam's poem in Punjabi, Kaifi Azmi and Makhdoon's poems in Urdu, Manmohan's poem in Marathi, had their inspiration based on these inhuman happenings on partition: Yashpal wrote a long novel in Hindi.

Closely following the great killings and Gandhiji's historic treck in Noakhali (novel by a Marathi journalist Biwalkar who accompanied Gandhi is Surya, Mama Warerkar's play *Apurva Bengal* is also on this theme), came the martyrdom of Mahatma on January 30, 1948. Almost all Indian languages were shaken with this great tragedy. Maithili Sharan Gupta wrote in Hindi :

How and in what words shall we hide our shame and our sorrow. We sent by our own hands our father to the other world !

'Dinkar' wrote the famous poem "Today a Himalaya is lost". Pant and Bachchan published two volumes of poems as tribute to Gandhiji. Dr. Shivamangal Singh Suman wrote a long poem. Uma Shankar Joshi wrote that only "Three fingers of fire could pick up that flower-like soul." Bhai Vir Singh wrote a long poem on Mahatma's death. So did Premendra Mitra write : *Tin Tho Guli* (Three Bullets) in Bengali. Shri Shri in Telugu wrote *Mahāprasthānam* and Vallathol in Malayalam *Bapuji*. B. S. Mardhekar in Marathi graphically de-cribed in a short poem "How time wiped

his spectacles and paced forward". In Urdu all major poets paid their tributes to Gandhi. Kartarsingh Dayal wrote a Punjabi short story '30 January 1948'.

In 1950 the Indian constitution was passed which became the basis of the great democratic elections that followed. 'Agyeya' in one of his poems hailed it as a peoples' pledge and promise. All the native states were scrapped and this anti-feudal step was hailed by writers as they hailed the anti-landlordism steps. New industrialization followed with new dams and power-projects and steel plants. At the time of the inauguration of hydro-electric plants, Amrita Pritam's poem on the *Bhakhre Nangal* and A. R. Deshpande Anil's poem on *Bh'lai* were broadcast by the Radio Stations. So did many writers write about these places. Gaurishankar Bhattacharya wrote an entire novel on Tatanagar- *Ispater Swakshar* (Autograph of steel) and G.N. Dandekar went to Bhakhre Nangal, stayed there and wrote in Marathi. *Āmhi Bhagīrathāche Putra* (We, the sons of Bhagīratha). There may be many more such examples.

In 1957, the centenary of 1857, the first war of Independence dubbed as Sepoy Revolt by the British historians, was celebrated throughout the country. There were many books written on this occasion. I remember three or four books distinctly: 1957 by Dr. S. N. Sen and P.C. Joshi's collections of Folk songs on this theme in English; Vasant Varkhedkar's Marathi novel on *Tātyā Tope Sarkārānche Senāni*; Atiq Siddiqui's volume on Urdu Newspapers in 1857; Mahashweta Bhattacharya's Bengali novel on *Rani of Jhansi* followed later. I compiled an article on the influence of 1857

on Indian literature and it was published in the Vol. I, No. I of the Sahitya Akademi Journal, *Indian Literature* in 1958.

In 1953, there was the state Re-organization Commission, which was appointed to redraw the map of India on linguistic basis after the formation of Andhra Pradesh, after the tragic death of Potti Shri Ramulu after a fast unto death in this cause. The aftermath of this SRC Report continued till 1960 when Maharashtra state with Bombay as capital was conceded. This unleashed many forces from linguistic identity seeking and euphoria to linguistic chauvinism and separatism. There were many useful activities like preparations of lexicons and dictionaries in languages, linguistic research, language-teaching tools and even training and publishing translations and transliterations. But more about it later.

Another important movement which affected thinkers and writers all over India was Acharya Vinoba Bhave's *Bhoodan* (Land gift) movement. Nirmala Deshpande, who accompanied the Acharya on his pādayātrā, has written two moving books based on her diaries in Marathi and Hindi. *Bhudani Sonia* is a novel in Hindi by Udairaj Singh on this subject. There is a long poem on this subject in Oriya by Nityanand Mahapatra, published in *Bhāratīya Kavitā*: 1954 Vol. I, (Sahitya Akademi Publication).

In 1962 there was the naked aggression on our borders by the Chinese Army. Later there were two such attacks by Pakistani armed forces by land and air. There are many novels, short stories, poems, essays and reportage written on this subject. There are even the

films in Hindi on the same subject, *Hakikat* and *Prem Pujari*. It is not possible to enlist all that was published in Indian languages on this subject in the form of books and articles. I remember that at least five collections of poems in Hindi included some of my poems written on these occasions, though many more were published. *Seemayen* by Monahar Chauhan and *Vishwas ki balivedi par* by Prapatnarain Shrivastava, were the two novels in Hindi with these themes. I remember to have written a dozen articles on the Chinese betrayal in Hindi-weeklies and monthlies.

In 1964, the dear leader of the nation, Jawaharlal Nehru died. In 1966 another dear leader Lal Bahadur Shastri died in Tashkent. Both these events left the entire nation plunged in sorrow. Many poems and books and special numbers were issued after these two great losses. Some documentation of all this writing should also be done.

Besides these events of national importance, there were certain events quite close to our borders, particularly the historic struggle of the heroic Mukti Bahini in Bangladesh, which provided so much inspiration and material to writers. Besides the translations of poems and short stories from eminent poets and writers of Bangladesh in English by *Nandi, published from London as voices of Bangladesh* with Tojwlaski's illustrations, and by Vishnukant Shastri in Hindi, there were many books written in Indian languages on this theme in Bengali, Hindi, Punjabi, Urdu, Marathi and other languages. Out of the books, I think, mention should be made of

the remarkable reportages by Dharmain Bharati in Hindi, G. P. Pradhan in Marathi and the Punjabi short stories by Kartarsingh Duggal entitled *Sonar Bangla.*

Amongst other international events, the war in Vietnam did attract the attention of many Indian writers. A collection of Anti-Vietnam poems edited by Tara Reddi in Marathi has a small translation by me from my original Hindi—one written on the self-immolation of the protesting pacifist Norman Morrision in Washington. There is no space here to record all the Indian writings in favour of world peace and against all wars and violent threats to human life and liberty all over the world, but during the last twenty-five years there is enough material published on this theme in all Indian languages to enable one to publish a 1000 page anthology of select writings by major Indian poets, playwrights (Pratap Sharma's excellent short play on Sonar Bangla is a very good example), short-story writers, novelists, essayists, journalists and thinkers.

THE INFLUENCE OF ANALOGY IN PALI*

MADHUSUDAN MALLIK

Analogy is a great factor in the development of languages. In the evolution of the Pali language, the contributions made by analogy is of no mean importance. In all departments of the Pali language, analogy has made its influence felt. In the domain of morphology analogy is the supreme determiner.

Sporodic examples of analogy have been given by scholars working in the field of Pali linguistics. It is Geiger who of all others for the first time has given more thoughts to its consideration and has quoted many examples in his *Pali Language and Literature*. In the present paper I shall try to synthesise the results adding instances not offered by others.

Phonology :

In Sandhi we have –

vijjur-iva	(Vv. i. 1) after the Analogy of Paṭhavīdhātur-evisā (M. iii. 240).
haṃsar-iva	(J. i. 366) after the analogy of punar ahosi.

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*Read in the 26th Session of the All India Oriental Conference at Ujjain (1972).

bahud-eva (S. iv. 183) after the analogy of aññad-eva (M. 1372).

Examples of phonological changes due to analogy are not numerous. A few of them may be quoted here, –

anuddayā (A. iii. 176) 'compassion, pity' – the doubling of 'd' is due to anal. with niddaya, cf. also anudaya in composition anudayasampanna 'full of misery' (J. 1. 151) ;

uṭṭhāhaka (J. v. 448) 'quick, alert', for uṭṭhāyaka, the 'h' after the anal. of gāhaka ;

utunī (S. iv. 239) 'a menstruating woman', cf. Skt. ṛtu, the nī after the anal. of bhikhunī ;

uyyāma (Dhs. 13) 'effort, endeavour', Skt. udyama, ud+yam, the ā in anal. with niyāma (S. i. 196) ;

etto (Sn. 448) 'from it, thence, hence', in anal. with ito. Originally it was Abl. of etad

khattiyā (M. ii. 33) 'a female khattiya, cf. brāhmanī khattiyī vessī suddī caṇḍālī nesādī veṇī rathakarī pukkusī (A. iii. 229);

carahi (Sn. 990), 'then, therefore', Skt. tarhi, 't' changed to 'c' in anal. with ci especially after interrogative pronoun,– ko carahi jānāhi 'who then knows ;

dhava	'(Thi. 121) 'husband', formed after vidhava (j. vi. 33) 'widow, ;
matteyya	(Pv. ii. 7) 'love for one's mother' in anal. with patteyya, cf. metteyya (D. iii. 72) ;
metteyyatā	(Nd. 294), in anal. with petteyyatā (D. iii. 145) ;
vāyo	(A. v. 7) 'wind' for vāyu in anal. with āpo, (M. i. 327), 'tejo'
suggati	(Dh. 18) 'happiness, bliss' in anal. with duggati, cf. also sugati (It. 24) ;
sura	(Sn. 681) 'god' in anal. with asura (J. v. 186)
sovacassa	(Nett, 40) 'suavity, gentleness' in anal. with dovacassa (A. ii. 147) ;
sovacassatā	(M. i. 126) in anal. with dovacassatā (Dhs. 1326).

Morphology :

Analogical examples are found in both declensions and conjugations.

Declension :

In declension the influence of *a*-declension, is greater than all other declensions put together. In fact, the tendency of the Pali language is towards the *a*-declension. Among other declensions, the influence of pronouns is not inconsiderable. In the following an attempt is made as to how various declensions are influenced by analogy. All cases of analogies, however, will not be illustrated,

only notable examples will be quoted. Thus we have in, –

a-declension.

Abl. sg. asmā, – amhā, taken from the pronouns,

Loc. sg.– asmiṃ, amhi taken from the pronouns.

Inst. sg.– asā, on the anal. of *as*-stems, balasā (Th. i. 1141) 'with force' (instead balena) ; damasā (Sn. 463), cf. damena of (Sn. 655) ; padasā (Mhvs. 14.2)' on foot, instead of padena; mukhasā (Pv. i. 23) explained in she commentary (Pv. co.) as mukhena ;

Acc. pl. —

Doubts have been expressed regarding this form, See, V. Henry, Prec. de Gramm. Palie, 153, note 3. Geiger, Pali Lan. & Liter. tran. by B.K. Ghosh, p. 119, says that the pronominal forms, te, ime, sabbe, were at the root, he further says that from 'te dhammān' gradually originated 'tedhame'.

ā–decl.

Nom., Acc., Voc. Pl. Kaññāyo, formed on the analogy of rattiyo, kumāriyo of the *i*-decl.

i-decl.

Abl. sg—ismā, –imhā (after a-decl.)

Loc. sg—ismiṃ, –imhi

Gen. sg.—issa, after *a*–decl.

Dat. sg., – Gen. sg. – ino, modelled on either neu *n*–decl. of Sanskrit or on the analogy of *in*-stems (cf. Pkt. aggiṇo).

Ins. pl. Abl. pl. – Ihi, the protraction of the stem-vowel, is probably due to the analogy with the Gen. pl.

Loc. sg. – Isu,

u–decl.

Abl. sg. – usmā, – umhā (after *a*-decl.)
Loc. sg. – usmiṃ, –umhi (after *a*-decl.)
Gen. sg. – ussa

Dat. sg. – Gen. sg. – uno, either onneu. n-decl. of Sanskrit or on the analogy of in-stems (cf. Pkt. vāuṇo)

Ins. pl., – Abl. pl. – ūhi, lengthening is due to anal. with Gen. Pl.

Loc. pl. – ūsu,

u-stems,–

Acc. sg. – bhikhuṇaṃ (Sn. 513), ādiccabandhunaṃ (D. ii. 287), after the analogy of *in*-stem; sakhāraṃ (J. ii. 348) after the flexion of agent nouns (satthā: satthāraṃ)

ṛ-decl.

Ins. sg. – satthunā (Mhvs. 17.12)
Dat. sg., – gen.sg., – satthuno (Sn. 547), bhattuno (Vv. co. 110); satthussa (Mhvs. 4.32).

n–decl.

Gen. sg. – rājassa (Dpvs. 17. 41) yuvassa (Mhvs. 18.23)

–rājūnaṃ (Ud. 11), probably in anal. with ṛ-stems.

Indeclinables :

vāhasā (Miln. 379) 'by dint of, on account of, owing to', in analogy with balasā, etc. ; vegasā (j. iii. 6), in analogy with thāmasā etc.

Degrees of Comparison :

- uparittha (Th. i. 910) 'highest' in anal. with seṭṭha; upariṭṭhama (Pug. A. 198), double superlative formation, after analogy with heṭṭhima (Vin. iv. 168) ; niceyya (Sn. 855), on the anal. of seyya.

Pronouns :

Personal,

mayaṁ, (Sn. 31), Skt. vayam, on the anal. of maṁ; tumhākaṁ (S. iii. 65), Skt. yuṣmākaṁ, on the anal. of taṁ.

The–*e* in, amhehi (J. i. 250), amhesu (S. i. 122), tumhe (It. 31), tumhesu (J. i. 154) as opposed to Sanskrit asmābhiḥ, asmāsu, yuṣmābhiḥ, yuṣmāsu etc. is on the analogy of forms like tehi, tesu, etc.

Conjugation :

In the domain of verbs many new forms are created on the basis of analogy. In the present system, the importance of *a*–stem is not negligible. It has changed the character of many verbs which are otherwise *a*–thematic in Sanskrit.

Present-system :

Present :

ālimpeti (D. ii. 163) 'to kindle, to ignite' cf. Skt. ādipayati. Here there is a change of *d* to *l* and substitution of limp for lip which is apparently on anal. with roots like lup > lump, lim> limp; muṇāti (Dh. 269) 'to think' after jānāti.

Imperative :

uggaṇhāhi (M. iii. 192) 'learn', sāvehi (J. i. 344) 'proclaim', ānehi (J. ii. 254) 'bring', vissjjehi (J. i. 223) 'give up', karohi (J. iii. 188) 'do' etc. on the anal. of ahkhāhi,

also from *a*–stems ;

jīvāhi (Sn. 1029), sarāhi (Milp. 79), 'remember', cf. sara (Th. i. 445), pakkosāhi (Dhc. iv. 28) 'call here', tussāhi (J. i. 494) 'be content', uṭṭhehi (Ud. 52), –on the anal. of dehi.

Optative :

vajjaṃ (Th. ii. 308), vajjāsi (Th. ii. 307), vajjā (Su. 971), vajjuṃ (Sn. 859),√ vad to speak—on the anal. of dadāmi dajjaṃ.

Aorist :

akaṃ (J. v. 160) 'I did', explained in commentary as akariṃ assuṃ (J. iii. 542) 'I heard'— on the anal. of ada adaṃ.

From the Secondary conjugations :

Passive :

khāyita (Pug. 59) 'eaten, consumed', formed after the anal. of sāyita.

Gerund :

yāna — a new formation on the analogy of -tvā :>tvāna>(cf. Geiger, Pali Lan. p. 227).

pidhatvā (Th. ii. 480) from√dhā, cf. dhitvā.

ṭhatvā (Sn. 887) from√sthā, Skt. sthitvā – in anal. with ñatvā; ñatvāna, chetvā (Dh. 283), Skt. chittvā bhetvā (Th. i. 753), Skt. bhittvā,

the – *e* is due to anal. with jetvā,netvā etc.

hantvā (Sn. 121), cf. hatvā

mantvā (Mhvs. 12), cf. matvā

gantvā (Sn. 455). cf. gatvā

–the retention of '*n*' is due to analogy with forms like Skt. śāntvā etc.

pappuyya (Sn. 593) – formed on the anal. of abhibhuyya, nicchiyya (Mhvs. 37) 'after deciding' — on the anal. of kāretuṃ, kāreti : kāriya

Participle

ādinnavā (Mhvs. 7.42) 'he who has seized' —on the anal. vusitavā ; kanta (Th. ii. 233) 'cut', Skt. kṛtta — '*n*' due to anal. with the present kantati.

pavyadhita (J. vi. 61) 'afflicted, frightened' pp. of pa+√vyadh, the 'dh' through anal. with pavedhita.

List of Abbreviations :

The editions of the texts referred to are by the Pali Text Society, London. The Roman and Arabic figures respectively refer to the volume and page numbers.

A.........Anguttaya-Nikāya
D.........Digha-Nikāya
Dh..........Dhammapada
Dhs..........Dhammasangani
Dpvs..........Dipavaṃsa
It.........Itivuttaka
J.........Jātaka
M.........Majjhima-Nikāya
Mhvs.........Mahāvaṃsa

Miln..........Milnda-Pañha

Netti.........Netti-Pakaraṇa

Pug.........Puggala-Paññatti

Pv.........Petavatthu

S.........Saṃyutta-Nikāya

Sn........Sutta-Nipāta

Th. i.........Theragāthā

Th. ii.........Therīgāthā

Ud.........Udāna

Vism.........Visuddhimagga

Vv.........Vimānavatthu.

WHAT SORT OF A CRITERION IS THE CRITERION OF FUNCTIONALITY ?*

KEWAL KRISHAN MITTAL

It is generally believed that the criterion of Functionality i. e. '*Artha Kriyā Kāritva*' has been the criterion of Reality (Vastutva) with the Buddhists[1]. The belief does not, by any means, seem to be unfounded in so far as some Buddhist Logicians themselves put forward the view in clearest possible terms. Ratna-Kīrti, for example, who regards '*artha kriyā kāritva*' as the 'characteristic definition of existence (*Sattva*)[2]' makes it as the sole plank of his argumentation in his *Kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhi* and Śāntarakṣita, the celebrated author of *Tattvasaṅgraha*, states it in so many words that 'It is efficiency (for effective action) that constitutes the characteristic of (existing) 'Things'.[3] It is quite natural, therefore, if the latter argues against the doctrines maintaining 'Absolute Permanence (Kevala-nityatvavāda)',[4] 'Perma-

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*This paper was presented at the Forty Fifth Session of the Indian Philosophical Congress.

1. S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. 1, p. 373.
2. *Kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhi*, pp. 20-21, as referred to by S. N. Dasgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, vol. 1, p. 163.
3. *Tattvasaṅgraha*, Kārikā 416 (Ganganath Jha's translation).
4. *Ibid*, Kārikā 394.

nence-in-change (*Pariṇāmī nityatvavāda*)'[5], and 'both Permanence and Change (*nityānitya-ubhayavāda*)'[6], and in favour of his own 'doctrine of momentariness' (*kṣaṇikavāda*)[7] on the basis of this criterion, in the main. Vasubandhu, in his *Abhidharmakoṣa*, does seem to take 'practical efficiency (*artha-kriyā-kāritva*)' as a proof or determinent of existence when he argues that an eternal, uncaused and unchanging being i. e. Ātmā cannot have a status more than that of an object of mere nominal existence—a word in current usage—for, practical efficiency cannot be attributed to it.[8]

It is a fact of history of Indian Philosophy of no mean interest and importance that some of the Nyāya, Jaina and the Vedānta thinkers who choose to attack Buddhist doctrines do seem to adopt the criterion of functionality themselves and fight back the Buddhists with their own weapon. Vācaspati Miśra, for example, argues that a momentary entity of the Buddhist conception cannot exist because it can neither be shown to be capable of performing a function without the help of anything else nor can it be judged of having that capacity depending on other things (*Sāpekṣa-anāpekṣa-vikalpa*).[9] Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, in a like manner, argues that

5. *Ibid*, Kārikās 428ff, 1738.
6. *Ibid*, Kārikās 222, 311, 312,
7. *Ibid*, Kārikās 415-416.
8. cf. S. N. Dasgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, vol, 1, p. 117.
9. Vācaspati Miśra, *Nyāyavārttikatātparyaṭīkā*, (chowkhamba edn.) pp. 354-6.

a momentary entity is a non-entity as it can neither be spoken of performing a function all at once nor as doing the same in the course of a duration of several moments (*Kramayaugapadyavikalpa*).[10] Akalaṅkadeva's argument against the Buddhist doctrine of momentariness is exactly similar to that of Jayanta as also to the one by Bhadanta Yogasena whose view is referred to and refuted in *Tattvasaṁgrahapañjikā* (kārikā 428 ff) by Kamalaśīla.[11] All of them take the criterion of Functionality, thus, as a criterion of being or the one pertaining to ontology.

The author of this short paper is of the view that, despite an apparently overwhelming evidence in favour of the belief referred to as above, the criterion of Functionality should not be treated as the criterion of being especially propounded and propagated by the Buddhists. It, at best, can be looked upon as a criterion of knowledge, i. e. pertaining to Epistemology acceptable to a School of Buddhist Philosophy and there too having a limited sphere of application. Even as a criterion of being *Arthakriyākāritva* has been specially used to prove the doctrine of momentariness and nothing else. One can safely argue that momentariness can as well be established without the criterion as historically *kṣaṇabhaṅgavāda* is earlier than the development of the argument from *arthakriyākāritva*.[12] Further, a

10. Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, *Nyāyamañjarī* (vizianagram edn.)

11. Akalaṅka, *Laghīyastraya* 2.1. *Artha kriyā na yujyeta nitya-kṣaṇikapakṣayoḥ. kramākramābhyām bhāvānām sā lakṣaṇatyā matā.*

12. cf. S. N. Dasgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, vol. 1., p. 209, fn. 2.

perceptive and analytical perusal of 125 kārikās (from 350 to 475) of *Tattvasaṁgraha* that are devoted to the 'Examination of the Doctrine of the Permanence of Things' is sure to reveal that argument from *arthakriyākāritva* is just one of the arguments for the changing character of reality.

It is well known that out of the four better known schools of Buddhism the Mādhyamika Śūnyavādins deny ontological committment of any sort on their part, the yogācara vijñānavādins do have an ontological commitment but they instead of proving the existence of objects (arthaḥ) are faced with the problem of explaining them away and for the same the criterion of functionality is neither a help nor a hindrance. Both the Vaibhāṣika and the Sautrāntika schools have a similar ontological standpoint in so far as they are Sarvāstivādins or the accepter of 'the reality of all'. They, none of them, require the use of *arthakriyākāritva* for establishing a particular type of character or characteristics of 'all' and therefore need not accept the criterion of functionality as the criterion of being. Sautrāntika, between them, however, requires the use of the criterion as an epistemological device forming the basis of inference that is needed by the school for the establishment of some of the real--the external (bāhya).

The so called school of Buddhist logic which ontologically seems to occupy a middle position between the Yogācara and the Sautrāntika and to which are said to belong Śāntarakṣita and Ratnakīrti who, as we have discussed earlier, presented an ontological version of the

criterion, is known to have had its beginning in the deliberations of Diṅnāga and Dharmakīrti. Reality for Diṅnāga is that suchness (tathatā) of a Svalakṣaṇa whereof we can not say any thing (unahhilāpya) other than that 'it is' is established by a *Kalpanāpoḍha pratyakṣa* (perception *sans* imagination) and does not need any other criterion of any sort. It is not proper to assign to it any characteristic, be it Kriyākāritva or otherwise. This same consideration seems to weigh with Diṅnāga when he is not prepared to call perception, of his definition, even knowledge (jñāna). All kriyā (efficiency or functionality) or Kārya (effect or function) pertains not to perception i. e. the sphere of svalakṣaṇa but to inference i. e. the province of kalpanā. For him, therefore, *Arthakriyā Kāritva* is neither a criterion of being nor that of knowledge. Dharmakīrti, on the other hand, does seem to accept *arthakriyā kāritva* as an epistemological criterion, in a limited sense albeit, when he adds the word jñāna (knowledge) to Diṅnāga's definition of Perception and connects the same in an essential way with inference. But one might argue that the addition of jñāna is a more concession to the opponent controversialist. What is more significant is the addition of the word 'non-illusory (abhrāntaṁ)' in the same definition. For, by doing so he ensures the uniqueness of the object of perception in a situation which called upon the Nyāya thinkers to impose the condition of 'capacity to act (pravṛtti sāmarthya)' as a secondary test of its being. It is however, unfortunate that this consideration, on the part of Dharmakīrti should have been lost even to his followers. The limitedness

of the role assigned to *Kriyākāritva* even in the sphere of kalpanā by Dharmakīrti becomes apparent when we note that in his thought Kāryānumāna is only one of the two kinds of inference alongwith svabhāvānumāna and the former forms, in the ultimate analysis, a sub-class of the latter.[13]

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13. *Pramāṇavārttika,* III.2 (Buddha Bharati Series No. 3, Varanasi 1968), pp. 258-59.

शिशुपालवध में विमर्शसन्ध्यङ्गनिरूपण

सुषमा कुलश्रेष्ठ

आचार्यों ने नाटक में पाँच सन्धियों तथा उनके अङ्गों का होना आवश्यक माना है। इन सन्धियों तथा उनके अङ्गों का नाट्यशास्त्रीय ग्रन्थों में अतिविस्तार से उल्लेख किया गया है। महाकाव्य का लक्षण प्रस्तुत करते समय आचार्यों ने स्पष्ट निर्देश किया है कि महाकाव्य को भी नाटक के समान पञ्चसन्धियों से समन्वित होना चाहिये।[1] इससे स्पष्ट है कि महाकाव्य में सन्धि-योजना को नाटकों की सन्धियोजना के बराबर ही महत्त्व दिया गया है। संस्कृत के अनेक महाकाव्य भी इसके प्रमाण हैं क्योंकि उनमें सन्धियों की विधिवत् योजना हुई है। सन्धियों के सम्यक् निर्वाह के लिए आवश्यक है कि नाटक अथवा काव्य में आधिकारिक तथा प्रासङ्गिक वृत्त, पञ्च अर्थप्रकृतियों तथा पञ्च कार्यावस्थाओं की भी सम्यक् योजना की जाये।

एक प्रयोजन में अन्वित कथांशों के अवान्तर सम्बन्ध को सन्धि कहते हैं।[2] सन्धियों के अवान्तर विभाग ही सन्ध्यङ्ग कहलाते हैं। यह स्वाभाविक एवं निश्चित है कि जब किसी नाटक अथवा काव्य में पञ्चसन्धियों की योजना की जायेगी, तब वहाँ उन सन्धियों के अङ्गों की योजना न की जाये, यह सम्भव नहीं है। नाटक में सन्ध्यङ्ग-योजना के विषय में निर्देश नाट्यशास्त्रीय ग्रन्थों में प्राप्त होता है। यद्यपि किसी भी प्राचीन आचार्य ने महाकाव्य में सन्ध्यङ्ग-योजना के विषय में कुछ निर्देश नहीं किया है तथापि हम यह मान सकते हैं कि जब उन्हें पञ्च सन्धियों की योजना महाकाव्य में अभीष्ट है, तब सन्ध्यङ्ग-योजना भी उनको अभीष्ट ही होगी। हाँ, यह हो सकता है कि इसका अलग से निर्देश करना उन्होंने आवश्यक न समझा हो।

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१. काव्यालङ्कार (भामह-प्रणीत)—१/१६-२०
काव्यादर्श—१/१८-१६
काव्यालङ्कार (रुद्रट-प्रणीत)—१६/१६
ध्वन्यालोक—३/१६
सा० द०—६/३१७

२. दशरूपक—अन्तरैकार्थसम्बन्धः सन्धिरेकान्वये सति। १/१३

साहित्यदर्पणकार विश्वनाथ (चौदहवीं शताब्दी) ने **'सन्ध्यङ्गानि यथालाभमत्र विधेयानि'**[३] कहकर स्पष्ट निर्देश किया है कि महाकाव्य में सन्ध्यङ्गों का भी यथा-सम्भव सन्निवेश करना चाहिये।

इस प्रकार यह सुनिश्चित है कि महाकाव्य में सन्ध्यङ्ग-निवेश की ओर भी महाकाव्य-रचयिताओं का ध्यान अवश्यमेव गया था। यही कारण है कि संस्कृत के अनेक महाकाव्यों में अनेक सन्ध्यङ्ग प्राप्त होते हैं। महाकाव्यों में सन्ध्यङ्गों के प्राप्त होने पर भी हमारे टीकाकारों ने उनकी ओर ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता ही नहीं समझी और उनकी पूर्ण उपेक्षा की। उनकी दृष्टि नाटकों में ही सन्ध्यङ्गों को खोजने में उलझी रही।

माघप्रणीत शिशुपालवध महाकाव्य में पाँचो सन्धियों तथा उनके ४८ अङ्गों की सुन्दर योजना हुई है। उक्त काव्य में **विमर्श सन्धि** तथा उसके अङ्गों का विवेचन प्रस्तुत लेख का विषय है।

जहाँ क्रोध से, व्यसन से या विलोभन से वस्तुतत्त्व (फलप्राप्ति) के विषय में पर्यालोचन किया जाये और जहाँ गर्भसन्धि में उद्भिन्न वीजार्थ का सम्बन्ध दिखलाया जाये, उसे **विमर्श** अथवा **अवमर्श** सन्धि कहते हैं।[४] नियमानुसार इस सन्धि में **प्रकरी** नामक **अर्थप्रकृति** और **नियताप्ति** नामक **कार्यावस्था** होनी चाहिये। शिशुपालवध के षोडश सर्ग में शिशुपाल का एक प्रगल्भवाक् दूत श्रीकृष्ण के सम्मुख उपस्थित हो श्लेष द्वारा द्व्यर्थक वचन कहता है। यह प्रसङ्गागत एकदेशस्थित चरित है। अतः यह **प्रकरी** है तथा वह दूत **प्रकरी-नायक** है। अपाय के दूर हो जाने से जहाँ पर फलप्राप्ति पूर्णरूप से निश्चित हो, उसे **नियताप्ति** कहते हैं।[५] एकोनविंश सर्ग के प्रथमार्द्ध तक अधिकतर **प्राप्त्याशावस्था** है। किसी-किसी स्थल पर नियताप्ति के भी चिह्न दिखाई देने लगते हैं यथा शिशुपालपक्षीय सैनिकों तथा श्रीकृष्णपक्षीय वीरों के द्वन्द्वयुद्ध में श्रीकृष्णपक्षीय वीरों के विजयी होने के वर्णन-प्रसङ्ग में। इसी सर्ग के ८३वें श्लोक से नियताप्ति पूर्णरूपेण आरम्भ होती है। श्रीकृष्ण के शिशुपाल की सेना पर आक्रमण करने और उनके दिगन्त तक व्याप्त तीक्ष्ण-ध्वनि-कारक एवं मर्मविदारक बाणों तथा शत्रुओं को एक साथ निरस्त करने में[६] नियताप्ति अवस्था

३. सा० द०–६/ महाकाव्य-लक्षण पर वृत्ति, पृ० २२५
४. दशरूपक–१/४३
५. दशरूपक–अपायाभावतः प्राप्तिर्नियताप्तिः सुनिश्चिता। ६/२१
६. शिशु०–१९/९५

है। यह अवस्था काव्य में बड़े सुन्दर रूप से विकास को प्राप्त हुई है। **विमर्श सन्धि** में बीजार्थ **गर्भसन्धि** की अपेक्षा अधिक विकसित होता है किन्तु क्रोधादि के कारण विघ्नयुक्त भी होता है। शिशु० में श्रीकृष्ण द्वारा शिशुपाल का वध किया जाना अत्यन्त सम्भव है किन्तु शिशुपाल-दूत के वचनों से श्रीकृष्णपक्षीय लोगों का क्षुब्ध होना, शिशुपाल का विपुल सेना तैयार करना और दोनो सेनाओं में तुमुल युद्ध कुछ सीमा तक विघ्न सदृश भी हैं। अतः पञ्चदश सर्ग के अन्तिम भाग से लेकर विंश सर्ग के लगभग अन्त तक **विमर्श सन्धि** है।

ना० शा०, सा० द० तथा दशरूपक के अनुसार इस सन्धि के अङ्ग १३ हैं। ना० शा० के अनुसार इसके अङ्ग इस प्रकार हैं—

१—अपवाद	८—खेद
२—संफेट	९—निषेध
३—अभिद्रव	१०—विरोधन
४—शक्ति	११—आदान
५—व्यवसाय	१२—छादन
६—प्रसङ्ग	१३—प्ररोचना
७—द्युति	

सा० द० में इन्हीं अङ्गों का परिगणन इस प्रकार है—

१—अपवाद	८—खेद
२—संफेट	९—प्रतिषेध
३—व्यवसाय	१०—विरोधन
४—द्रव	११—प्ररोचना
५—द्युति	१२—आदान
६—शक्ति	१३—छादन
७—प्रसङ्ग	

दशरूपककार ने इन्हीं अङ्गों को भिन्न क्रम से प्रस्तुत किया है। उन्होंने

ना० शा० में (और सा० द० में भी) दी गई सूची के तीन अंग छोड़कर नये तीन अंगों की उद्भावना की है। दशरूपक में परिगणित अंग इस प्रकार हैं—

१—अपवाद	८—छलन
२—संफेट	९—व्यवसाय
३—विद्रव	१०—विरोधन
४—द्रव	११—प्ररोचना
५—शक्ति	१२—विचलन
६—द्युति	१३—आदान
७—प्रसङ्ग	

तीनो ही ग्रन्थों में प्राप्त **अवमर्श सन्ध्यङ्गों** को देखकर निम्नलिखित तथ्य प्राप्त होते हैं—

१—ना० शा० में जिस क्रम में इन सन्ध्यङ्गों को प्रस्तुत किया गया है, उसका सा० द० में अंशतः तथा दशरूपक में स्वल्पांशतः पालन किया गया है।

२—ना० शा० का द्रुति नामक अंग सा० द० और दशरूपक का **द्युति** नामक अंग है।

३—ना० शा० का **अभिद्रव** नामक अंग दशरूपक का द्रव नामक अंग है।

४—ना० शा० का **निषेध** नामक अंग सा० द० का **प्रतिषेध** नामक अंग है।

५—ना० शा० का **सादन** नामक अंग सा० द० का **छादन** नामक अंग है।

६—ना० शा० और सा० द० के **खेद, निषेध** (सा० द० का **प्रतिषेध**) और **सादन** (सा० द० का **छादन**) दशरूपक में नहीं मिलते हैं।

७—ना० शा० और सा० द० में दशरूपक के **विद्रव, छलन** और **विचलन** अंग नहीं हैं।

८—तीनो ग्रन्थों में विमर्श सन्धि के १० अंग समान हैं।

९—दशरूपक का **विद्रव** नामक विमर्शाङ्ग ना० शा० और सा० द० में

नहीं है किन्तु **विद्रव** नामक गर्भसन्ध्यङ्ग का उल्लेख ना० शा० और सा० द० में है। वहाँ का **विद्रव** दशरूपक के **संभ्रम** नामक गर्भसन्ध्यङ्ग के समान है।

१०—दशरूपक और सा० द० के **विरोधन** नामक अंग की परिभाषा में अन्तर है।

११—दशरूपक और सा० द० के **व्यवसाय** तथा **प्ररोचना** नामक अंगों की परिभाषाओं में भी थोड़ा अन्तर है।

विमर्श सन्धि के इन अंगों में से अधिकांश का सन्निवेश शिशुपालवध में प्राप्त होता है जिसका उल्लेख दशरूपक में उल्लिखित विमर्शसन्ध्यङ्गों के क्रमानुसार किया जायगा।

अपवाद

जहाँ किसी पात्र के दोषों का वर्णन किया जाये वहाँ **अपवाद** नामक विमर्शाङ्ग होता है।[७] शिशु० के षोडश सर्ग के २३, २८, २६, ३१, ३२ तथा ३६वें श्लोकों में यह अंग प्राप्त होता है जहाँ सात्यकि शिशुपाल के दूत के प्रति श्रीकृष्ण की अग्रपूजा से क्रुद्ध शिशुपाल के दोषों का वर्णन करता है। सात्यकि शिशुपाल-दूत से कहता है कि दुर्जन अपने दोष को देखने में स्वभावतः अन्धे होते हैं तथा दूसरों के दोषों को देखने में दिव्य-दृष्टि होते हैं। दुर्जन अपने गुणों के कथन में तेज बोलने वाले होते हैं तथा दूसरों के गुणों को कहने में मौनी हो जाते हैं।[८] उपर्युक्त श्लोकों में शिशुपाल की निन्दा होने से वहाँ **अपवाद** नामक विमर्शाङ्ग है।

संफेट

रोष से युक्त वार्तालाप **संफेट** कहलाता है।[९] शिशु० के षोडश सर्ग में

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७. ना० शा०—दोषप्रख्यापनं यत्स्यात् सोऽपवादः प्रकीर्तितः। २१/९०
दशरूपक—दोषप्रख्यापवादः स्यात्। १/४५
सा० द०—दोषप्रख्यापवादः स्यात्। ६/१०२

८. शिशु०—सहजान्धदृशः स्वदुर्नये परदोषेक्षणदिव्यचक्षुषः।
स्वगुणोच्चगिरो मुनिव्रताः परवर्णग्रहणेष्वसाधवः॥ १६/२६

९. ना० शा०—रोषग्रथितवाक्यं तु संफेटः स उदाहृतः। २१/९०
दशरूपक—संफेटो रोषभाषणम्। ६/४५
सा० द०—संफेटो रोषभाषणम्। ६/१०२

श्रीकृष्ण के प्रति शिशुपाल-दूत द्वारा कहे गये वचनों में अनेक स्थलों पर यह विमर्शाङ्ग मिलता है यथा ४७वें, ४८वें तथा ४९वें श्लोकों में। एक स्थल पर शिशुपाल का दूत इस बात को कि "जिस प्रकार युधिष्ठिर के द्वारा पूजा नहीं करने पर भी शिशुपाल का गौरव कम नहीं हुआ, उसी प्रकार तुम्हारी (श्रीकृष्ण की) पूजा करने पर भी तुम्हारा गौरव नहीं बढ़ा' सदृष्टान्त कहता है—'मूर्ख पृथापुत्रों (युधिष्ठिरादि पाण्डवों) द्वारा किये गये सत्कार की तुम में योग्यता कहाँ से हो सकती है अर्थात् कदापि नहीं हो सकती क्योंकि अगहन मास में बन्दरों से सेवित गुञ्जाफल (घूँघची) गर्म नहीं होता।[१०] यहाँ शिशुपाल-दूत का श्रीकृष्ण के प्रति रोषभाषण होने से संफेट नामक सन्ध्यङ्ग है।

विद्रव

दशरूपक के अनुसार किसी पात्र का मारा जाना, बँध जाना (बन्दी हो जाना) आदि (भय से पलायन आदि करना) **विद्रव** कहलाता है।[११] ना० शा० और सा० द० में **विमर्श सन्धि** के अन्तर्गत इस अंग का उल्लेख नहीं है। यदि हम **विद्रव** अंग की दशरूपक की परिभाषा का ग्रहण करें तो शिशुपाल के अष्टादश सर्ग में श्रीकृष्ण तथा शिशुपाल-सेना के मध्य चलने वाले युद्ध-प्रसङ्ग में इसके अनेक उदाहरण प्राप्त होते हैं। **विद्रव** भी दो प्रकार का है—(१) जहाँ किसी पात्र के मारे जाने का वर्णन हो और (२) जहाँ किसी पात्र के वन्दी बनाये जाने का वर्णन हो। प्रथम प्रकार का **विद्रव** शिशुपाल के अष्टादश सर्ग के ५९वें, ६०वें, ६१वें, ६४वें, ६५वें, ६८वें, ६९वें तथा ७०वें श्लोकों में मिलता है। एक उदाहरण प्रस्तुत है—(युद्ध में) गहरी चोट से मूर्च्छित कोई शूरवीर चेतनता प्राप्त होने पर वहाँ से हटाकर ले जाने वाले मित्र के उच्च स्वर से कहे गये (पुनः युद्ध में मत जाओ, लौट आओ, आदि) वचन को नहीं मानकर युद्ध-भूमि में लौट गया और (वहाँ शत्रु से युद्ध कर) मर गया। उसने यह ठीक ही किया क्योंकि कीर्ति चाहने वाले के लिये मित्रादि का अनुरोध क्या वस्तु है?[१२] यहाँ शिशुपालपक्षीय वीर के वध का वर्णन होने से **विद्रव सन्ध्यङ्ग** है।

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१०. शिशु०—अबुधैः कृतमानसंविदस्तव पार्थैः कुत एव योग्यता।
सहसि प्लवगैरुपासितं न हि गुञ्जाफलमेति सोष्मताम्॥ १६/४७

११. दशरूपक—विद्रवो वधबन्धादिः। १/४५

१२. शिशु०—कश्चिच्छस्त्रापातमूढोऽपवोढुर्लब्ध्वा भूयश्चेतनामाहवाय।
व्यावर्तिष्ट क्रोशतः सख्युरुच्चैस्त्यक्तश्चात्मा का च लोकानुवृत्तिः॥ १८/६४

बन्धजनित **विद्रव** का उदाहरण द्रष्टव्य है—'युद्धस्थल में अस्त्रों से विद्ध होने से मूर्च्छित हुए कुलीन वीरों को मारने के लिए उद्यत अपने पक्ष वालों को मना करते हुए कुछ वीरों ने उन मूर्च्छित लोगों को जीवितावस्था में ही पकड़वा लिया। उन्होंने यह उचित ही किया क्योंकि योग्य व्यक्ति से किसे प्रयोजन नहीं रहता ?[13] यहाँ श्रीकृष्णपक्षीय वीरों द्वारा शिशुपालपक्षीय वीरों के बन्दी बनाये जाने का वर्णन होने से **विद्रव सन्ध्यङ्ग** है।

द्रव

दशरूपक के अनुसार जहाँ गुरुओं (बड़े व्यक्तियों) का तिरस्कार हो, वहाँ **द्रव विमर्शाङ्ग** होता है।[14] सा० द० के अनुसार शोक अथवा आवेग के कारण गुरुओं के अतिक्रम करने को द्रव कहते हैं।[15] ना० शा० के अनुसार गुरुओं का अतिक्रम **अभिद्रव** है।[16] वहाँ इस अंग को द्रव के स्थान पर **अभिद्रव** कहा गया है। शिशु० के षोडश सर्ग में दूसरे से पन्द्रहवें श्लोक तक तथा ४६वें श्लोक से सर्गान्त तक यह अंग मिलता है। शिशुपाल-दूत के श्रीकृष्ण के प्रति कहे गये वचनों में तिरस्कार होने से **द्रव सन्ध्यङ्ग** है। शिशुपाल के षोडश सर्ग के २-१५वें श्लोकों के अर्थों के दो पक्ष हैं—प्रिय पक्ष तथा अप्रिय पक्ष। अप्रिय पक्ष वाले अर्थ में द्रव नामक **विमर्शाङ्ग** है। एक स्थल पर शिशुपाल-दूत श्रीकृष्ण से कहता है—प्रियपक्ष—'यदुश्रेष्ठ, युद्ध में शत्रुओं को मारने वाले शिशुपाल के साथ इस समय सन्धि कर आप चिरकाल पर्यन्त सब यादवों सहित (शिशुपाल का भय दूर हो जाने से) विश्वस्त रमणियों वाले हो जाइये।' अप्रियपक्ष—'युद्ध में राजाओं को मारने वाले शिशुपाल के साथ इस समय भिड़कर तुम (श्रीकृष्ण) चिरकाल तक सब यादवों के साथ विधवा रमणियों वाले हो जाओ अर्थात् यादवों के साथ युद्ध में मृत्यु को प्राप्त करो।'[17] यहाँ दूत के वचनों में गुरु श्रीकृष्ण के प्रति तिरस्कार होने से द्रव विमर्शाङ्ग

१३. शिशु०–१८/६६

१४. दशरूपक––द्रवो गुरुतिरस्कृतिः। १/४५

१५. सा० द०–द्रवो गुरुव्यतिक्रान्तिः शोकवेगादिसंभवा। ६/१०३

१६. ना० शा०–गुरुव्यतिक्रमो यस्तु विज्ञेयोऽभिद्रवस्तु सः। २१/९१

१७. शिशु०–समरेषु रिपून्विनिघ्नता शिशुपालेन समेत्य संप्रति।
सुचिरं सह सर्वसात्वतैर्भव विश्वस्तविलासिनीजनः॥ १६/१४

है। इसी प्रकार शिशुपाल के पञ्चदश सर्ग के १४वें श्लोक से ३८वें श्लोक तक भी यह अंग प्राप्त होता है जहाँ श्रीकृष्ण की अग्रपूजा से क्रुद्ध शिशुपाल क्रम से युधिष्ठिर, भीष्म तथा श्रीकृष्ण के प्रति तिरस्कारयुक्त वचनों का प्रयोग करता है।

शक्ति

विरोध के शमन को शक्ति कहते हैं।[18] इस सन्ध्यङ्ग का उदाहरण शिशुपाल में प्राप्त नहीं होता।

द्युति

ना० शा० में इस अंग का उल्लेख द्रुति नाम से हुआ है। ना० शा०, सा० द० तथा दशरूपक के अनुसार किसी पात्र का तर्जन तथा उद्वेजन करना द्रुति या द्युति कहलाता है।[19] शिशुपाल के पञ्चदश सर्ग के ६३वें से ६६वें श्लोक तक यह विमर्शाङ्ग प्राप्त होता है। एक स्थल पर क्रुद्ध शिशुपाल कहता है–"मेरे साथ युद्ध में आये हुए गरुड़ध्वज (कृष्ण) के मेरे तीक्ष्ण बाणाग्रों से पिये गये रक्त को शीघ्र ही पक्षियों के साथ पृथ्वी पिये।[20] यहाँ शिशुपाल के वचनों में श्रीकृष्ण का तर्जन और उद्वेजन होने से द्युति अंग है।

प्रसङ्ग

जहाँ पूज्य व्यक्तियों (गुरुओं) माता-पिता आदि का सङ्कीर्तन हो, वहाँ प्रसङ्ग नामक विमर्शाङ्ग होता है।[21] शिशु० के चतुर्दश सर्ग में ५८वें से ८६वें श्लोक

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१८. ना० शा०–विरोधोपशमो यस्तु सा शक्तिः परिकीर्तिता। २१/९१
दशरूपक–विरोधशमनं शक्तिः। १/४६
सा० द०–शक्तिः पुनर्भवेत् विरोधस्य प्रशमनम्। ६/१०४

१९. ना० शा०–वाक्यमाधर्षणकृतं द्रुतिस्तज्ज्ञैरुदाहृतम्। २१/९३
दशरूपक–तर्जनोद्वेजने द्युतिः। १/४६
सा० द०–तर्जनोद्वेजने प्रोक्ता द्युतिः। ६/१०४

२०. शिशु०–अचिरान्मया सह गतस्य समरमुरगारिलक्ष्मणः।
तीक्ष्णविशिखमुखपीतमसृक्पततां गणैः पिवतु सार्धमुर्वरा॥
१५।६६

२१. ना० शा० -प्रसङ्गश्चैव विज्ञेयो गुरूणां परिकीर्तनम्। २१/९२
दशरूपक–गुरुकीर्तनं प्रसङ्गः। १।४६
सा० द०–प्रसङ्गो गुरुकीर्तनम्। ६।१०४

तक यह अंग प्राप्त होता है जहाँ भीष्म पितामह श्रीकृष्ण का सङ्कीर्तन करते हैं। एक स्थल पर भीष्म श्रीकृष्ण की उपासना करने का फल बतलाते हुए कहते हैं–'भक्तवत्सल इन श्रीकृष्ण में भक्ति करने वाले लोग इनका सदैव स्मरण करने से क्षीण पाप वाले होकर इन (श्रीकृष्ण भगवान्) के संसार के क्लेश रूपी नाटक की विडम्बना की समाप्ति को प्राप्त करते हैं अर्थात् सांसारिक क्लेश से मुक्त हो जाते हैं।[२२]

छलन

यह सन्ध्यङ्ग ना० शा० और सा० द० में प्राप्त नहीं होता। दशरूपक के अनुसार जहाँ कोई पात्र किसी दूसरे की अवज्ञा करे, वहाँ **छलन** विमर्शाङ्ग होता है।[२३] शिशु० के पञ्चदश सर्ग के १५वें तथा २३वें श्लोकों में यह अंग प्राप्त होता है। युधिष्ठिर द्वारा श्रीकृष्ण के प्रति किये गये प्रथमार्घ्यदान से क्रुद्ध शिशुपाल कहता है—'हे युधिष्ठिर, जो तुमने राजभिन्न इस मुरारि को राजाओं के समान अर्घ्य दिया है, वह मुरारि-नृपरूप इन अग्नियों के जलते रहने पर हविष्य को पाने के लिये कुत्ते के समान योग्य नहीं है।[२४] यहाँ श्रीकृष्ण तथा युधिष्ठिर दोनो की स्पष्ट अवज्ञा होने से **छलन** नामक विमर्शाङ्ग है।

व्यवसाय

ना० शा० और सा० द० के अनुसार प्रतिज्ञा और हेतु से संभूत अर्थ को **व्यवसाय** कहते हैं।[२५] दशरूपक के अनुसार जहाँ कोई पात्र अपने सामर्थ्य के विषय में कहे, वहाँ **व्यवसाय** निमर्शाङ्ग होता है।[२६] शिशु० के पञ्चदश सर्ग के ४६वें श्लोक में भीष्म अपना क्रोध प्रकट करते हुए कहते हैं—'मेरे द्वारा इस सभा में

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२२. शिशु०—भक्तिमन्त इह भक्तवत्सले सन्ततस्मरणरीणकल्मषाः।
यान्ति निर्वहणमस्य संसृतिक्लेशनाटकविडम्बनाविधे ॥ १४।६३

२३. दशरूपक—छलनं चावमाननम्। १।४६

२४. शिशु०—यदराज्ञि राजवदिहार्घ्यमुपहितमिदं मुरद्विषि।
ग्राम्यमृग इव हविस्तदयं भजते ज्वलत्सु न महीशवह्निषु ॥ १५।१५

२५. ना० शा०—व्यवसायस्तु विज्ञेयः प्रतिज्ञाहेतुसंभवः। २१।९२
सा० द०—व्यवसायश्च विज्ञेयः प्रतिज्ञाहेतुसंभवः। ६।१०३

२६. दशरूपक—व्यवसायः स्वशक्त्युक्तिः। १।४७

की गई श्रीकृष्ण की पूजा को जो नहीं सहन करता है, वह युद्धार्थ धनुष चढ़ावे। श्रीकृष्ण की पूजा को सहन न करने वाले सब राजाओं के मस्तक पर यह मेरा पैर रखा हुआ है।'[२७] यहाँ भीष्म की उक्ति में अपने सामर्थ्य का कथन होने से **व्यवसाय** अङ्ग है।

विरोधन

ना० शा० के अनुसार जहाँ क्रुद्ध पात्रों का उत्तरोत्तर भाषण हो वहाँ **विरोधन** होता है।[२८] दशरूपक के अनुसार जहाँ क्रुद्ध पात्रों के द्वारा स्वशक्ति का प्रकटीकरण हो वहाँ **विरोधन** विमर्शाङ्ग होता है।[२९] साहित्यदर्पणकार ने इस अङ्ग की पूर्णरूपेण भिन्न परिभाषा दी है। उनके अनुसार कार्य के अत्यय (विघ्न) का उपगमन **विरोधन** कहलाता है।[३०] हम ना० शा० और दशरूपक की इस अङ्ग की परिभाषा को ध्यान में रखकर उदाहरण देंगे। पञ्चदश सर्ग के ४६वें श्लोक में भीष्म अपने पराक्रम को प्रकट करते हुए उन राजाओं को युद्धार्थ ललकारते हैं जो श्रीकृष्ण की अग्रपूजा को सहन करने में असमर्थ हैं। अनन्तर शिशुपाल कटुवचन कहता है। एक स्थान पर शिशुपाल कहता है—'नृपतिगण, इन पाँच जारज पुत्रों (युधिष्ठिरादि पाँच पाण्डवों) तथा वृद्ध राजकन्या (भीष्म पितामह) के साथ (राजोचित पूजा को राजा न होकर भी ग्रहण करने से) वधार्ह इस कंस के दास (कृष्ण) को क्यों नहीं मारते हैं? अथवा देवसमूह के भी पराक्रम को नहीं गिनने वाले आप लोग ठहरें, यह कृष्णवध क्या वस्तु है अर्थात् अत्यन्त साधारण कार्य है, क्योंकि युद्ध में यह कृष्ण अकेले मेरा ही मुख देखने में (मेरा सामना करने में) सामर्थ नहीं है (फिर महापराक्रमी आप लोगों के विषय में कहना ही क्या है?)[३१] उपर्युक्त अंश में **विरोधन** अङ्ग है।

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२७. शिशु०—विहितं मयाद्य सदसीदमपमृषितमच्युतार्चनम्।
यस्य नमयतु स चापमयं चरणः कृतः शिरसि सर्वभूभृताम्॥

२८. ना० शा०—विरोधनं तु संरम्भादुत्तरोत्तरभाषणम्। २१।९४ १५।४६

२९. दशरूपक—संरब्धानां विरोधनम्। १।४७

३०. सा० द०—कार्यात्ययोपगमनं विरोधनमिति स्मृतम्। ६।१०६

३१. शिशु०—१५।४६, ६१, ६६

प्ररोचना

ना० शा० तथा सा० द० के अनुसार अर्थ के उपसंहार को दिखलाना प्ररोचना कहलाता है।[३२] दशरूपक के अनुसार जहाँ कोई व्यक्ति अपने वचनों के द्वारा भावी घटना की सूचना इस प्रकार दे जैसे वह सिद्ध व्यक्ति हो, वहाँ प्ररोचना नामक विमर्शाङ्ग होता है।[३३] शिशुपाल के विंश सर्ग के ७६वें श्लोक में ना० शा० और सा० द० के अनुसार प्ररोचना अङ्ग प्राप्त होता है जहाँ वर्णन है कि "इस प्रकार शीघ्र बाण चलाने वाले क्षुब्ध शिशुपाल ने बिगड़े रोग के समान जिन जिन विकारों को प्रकट किया, बड़े बड़े विकारों को दूर करने वाले उपायों से, वैद्य के समान क्रमज्ञाता श्रीकृष्ण ने उन उन विकारों को शीघ्र नष्ट कर दिया।" यहाँ काव्य के प्रयोजनभूत अर्थ का उपसंहार दर्शाया गया है। अभी तो श्रीकृष्ण ने शिशुपाल के सब विकारों को ही प्रतिहत किया है, अब वे शीघ्र ही उसका वध भी करेंगे, यह उक्त श्लोक की ध्वनि है। अतः वहाँ प्ररोचना विमर्शाङ्ग है।

विचलन

इस सन्ध्यङ्ग का उल्लेख ना० शा० और सा० द० में नहीं है। दशरूपक के अनुसार जहाँ कोई पात्र आत्मश्लाघा करे वहाँ विचलन विमर्शाङ्ग होता है।[३४] पञ्चदश सर्ग के १५वें श्लोक में शिशुपाल कहता है—'युधिष्ठिर, जो तुमने राज-भिन्न इस मुरारि को राजाओं के समान अर्घ्य दिया है, वह मुरारि नृपरूप इन अग्नियों के जलते रहने पर हविष्य को पाने के लिए कुत्ते के समान योग्य नहीं है।' यहाँ शिशुपाल अपनी गणना प्रताप से प्रकाशमान राजाओं में करते हुए आत्मश्लाघा करता है। अतः यहाँ विचलन अङ्ग है।

आदान

जब नाटककार अथवा काव्यकार उपसंहार की ओर बढ़ने की कामना से नाटक अथवा काव्य की वस्तु के कार्य को संगृहीत करता है तब वह अङ्ग आदान

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३२. ना० शा०–प्ररोचना च विज्ञेया संहारार्थप्रकाशिनी। २१।६६
सा० द०–प्ररोचना तु विज्ञेया संहारार्थप्रदर्शिनी॥ ६।१०६

३३. दशरूपक–सिद्धामन्त्रणतो भाविदर्शिका स्यात्प्ररोचना। १।४७

३४. दशरूपक–विकत्थना विचलनम्। १।४८

कहलाता है।[३५] विंश सर्ग के ७७वें श्लोक में यह अङ्ग प्राप्त होता है जहाँ वर्णन है—'उस समय शिशुपाल ने लौह-शुद्धि-युक्त, सीधे तथा मर्मस्थल को विदीर्ण नहीं किये हुए बाणों से उन श्रीकृष्ण को जीतने में अशक्य मानकर अत्यन्त अशुद्ध, कुटिल तथा मर्मस्थलविदारक वाग्बाणों से उन्हें व्यथित किया।' शिशुपाल का वाग्बाण चलाना उसके वध का सूचक है। कवि ने यहाँ काव्य की वस्तु के कार्य को संगृहीत किया है। अतः यहाँ **आदान** विमर्शाङ्ग है।

यहाँ तक दशरूपक के क्रमानुसार विमर्श सन्धि के अङ्गों का वर्णन किया गया। उपरिवर्णित अङ्गों में से **विद्रव, छलन** और **विचलन** को छोड़कर शेष दस विमर्शाङ्ग ना० शा० और सा० द० में मिलते हैं। ना० शा० और सा० द० में **खेद, निषेध (प्रतिषेध)** और **सादन (छादन)** नामक तीन अन्य अङ्गों का उल्लेख हुआ है। ये अङ्ग शिशु० में प्राप्त नहीं होते।

इस प्रकार विमर्श सन्धि के १३ अङ्गों में से १२ अङ्गों का सन्निवेश माघ ने अतिकौशल से किया है।

सन्दर्भ-ग्रन्थ-सूची

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३. काव्यालङ्कार (रुद्रटप्रणीत)—काव्यमाला-२, निर्णय सागर प्रेस, बम्बई, १९२८ ई०

४. दशरूपक (धनञ्जयप्रणीत)—चौखम्बा विद्याभवन, बनारस, १९५५ ई०

५. ध्वन्यालोक (आनन्दवर्धनप्रणीत)—चौखम्बा संस्कृत सीरीज, १९४० ई०

६. नाट्यशास्त्र (भरतमुनिप्रणीत)—प्रथम भाग, मनीषा ग्रन्थमाला प्राइवेट लिमिटेड, कलकत्ता-१२, १९६७ ई०

७. शिशुपालवध (माघप्रणीत)—चौखम्बा विद्याभवन, बनारस, १९५५ ई०

८. साहित्यदर्पण (विश्वनाथप्रणीत)—मोतीलाल बनारसीदास, दिल्ली, वाराणसी, पटना, १९६१ ई०

सङ्केत-सूची

१. ना० शा० = नाट्यशास्त्र

२. शिशु० = शिशुपालवध

३. सा० द० = साहित्यदर्पण

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३५. ना० शा०—बीजकार्योपगमनमादानमिति संज्ञितम्। २१।९५
दशरूपक—आदानं कार्यसंग्रहः। १।४८
सा० द०—कार्यसंग्रह आदानम्। ६।१०७

ऋग्वेद का स्वापन सूक्त ७.५५ : एक अध्ययन

माया मालवीय

अथर्ववेद के यातुपरक मंत्र ऋग्वेद तथा अन्य वेदों में भी पाये जाते हैं। शुद्ध यातु-मंत्र अथर्ववेद में भी कम ही हैं। वास्तव में उनमें धर्म (religion) और यातु (magic) का अद्भुत सम्मिश्रण है। धर्म से यातु को पृथक करने वाला प्रमुख भेदक तत्त्व नियमन (compulsion, coercion) अर्थात् अतिमानवीय शक्ति को वाध्य करके, उस पर दवाव डाल कर, उससे अपना भौतिक स्वार्थ सिद्ध कराना है। वैदिक यातुपरक मंत्रों की विशेषता यह है कि इसमें प्रयोक्ता की भावना देवताओं अथवा अलौकिक शक्तियों के प्रति पूर्ण विश्वास, नम्रता, समर्पण तथा उन्हें प्रसन्न करने की भी रहती है। जहाँ भी कहीं आत्मविश्वास पूर्वक, सीधे घटनाक्रम को प्रभावित करने का भाव है, वहाँ उसके पीछे दिव्य शक्ति की सहायता या कृपा पर विश्वास तथा अपने अन्दर तज्जन्य कर्तृत्व शक्ति पर भरोसे की भावना है। इसीलिये कभी कभी एक ही सूक्त में समर्पण (submission) और दवाव (coercion) ये दोनों भाव साथ साथ पाये जाते हैं। हमारे वैदिक ऋषि का यह दृढ़ विश्वास है कि दिव्य शक्तियाँ प्रार्थना का उत्तर देती हैं और स्तुति द्वारा उन्हें प्रसन्न करके अपना अभीष्ट प्राप्त किया जा सकता है। अपनी प्रार्थना की शक्ति पर विश्वास के कारण ही वह अपने को कुछ भी कर सकने में समर्थ समझने लगता है। दोनों भावनायें साथ साथ चलती हैं। केवल अथर्ववेद ही नहीं, पूरा वैदिक साहित्य धर्म और यातु के इस मिश्रण से परिपूर्ण है। यहाँ ऋग्वेद के केवल एक सूक्त स्वापन-सूक्त का ही अध्ययन अभीष्ट है।

वर्ण्य-विषय की दृष्टि से ऋग्वेद ७.५५ एक स्वापन-मंत्र है। बृहद्देवता[१], कात्यायन सर्वानुक्रमणी[२] और ऋग्विधान[३] में भी यही माना गया है। इसके पाठ से मंत्र–प्रयोक्ता भौंकते कुत्ते[४], घर के सदस्यों जैसे माता पिता, गृह स्वामी, अन्य

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१. ६. ११. २ वास्तोष्पत्यश्चतस्रस्तु सप्त प्रस्वापिन्यः स्मृताः।

२. प्रस्वापिन्यः उपनिषदः।

३. २.२६.५ अमीवहेति सूक्तेन भूतानि स्वापयेन्निशि।

४. ऋग्वेद १. १८२.४ में अश्विनी कुमार से भौंकते आते हुये कुत्ते को मारने के लिये प्रार्थना की गई है।

सम्बन्धियों[५] एवं घर की समस्त महिलाओं[६] को सुला देता है। प्राणियों के विस्तृत विवरण तथा प्रयुक्त "हर्म्य" तथा "पुण्यगन्धाः" शब्दों से मालुम होता है कि मंत्र प्रयोक्ता का लक्ष्य कोई भरा-पूरा, भद्र तथा सम्पन्न परिवार है।

अब प्रश्न उठना स्वाभाविक है कि घर के समस्त सदस्यों (जिसमें कुत्ता भी शामिल है) को सुलाने में रहस्य क्या है ?

हमारा परम्परागत इतिहास इस सूक्त में चोरी का उद्देश्य मानता है। 'बृहद्देवता' के अनुसार, एक रात्रि वसिष्ठ वरुण के घर में सोने के उद्देश्य से आये। पहरे पर नियुक्त कुत्ता भोंकते हुये उनकी ओर बढ़ा, पर वसिष्ठ ने उक्त सूक्त का पाठ करके उसे सुला दिया[७]। गेल्डनर[८] बृहद्देवता के मत का समर्थन करते हैं।

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५. सस्तु माता सस्तु पिता सस्तु श्वा सस्तु विश्पतिः
ससन्तु सर्वे ज्ञातयः सस्त्वयमभितो जनः

६. प्रोष्ठेशया वह्येशया नारीर्यास्तल्पशीवरीः।
स्त्रियो याः पुण्यगन्धास्ताः सर्वाः स्वापयामसि ॥

इसमें बैठने, लेटने के उस समय के अनेक आसनों का वर्णन मिलता है। सायण "प्रोष्ठेशयाः" का अर्थ "प्राङ्गणे शयानाः" तथा वेंकटमाधव "खट्वाशयाः" लेते हैं। सायण "वह्येशयाः का अर्थ "वाहनं तस्मिन् शयानाः" तथा वेंकट माधव "शिविकादि" लेते हैं। दोनों ने 'तल्प' के लिये कोई दूसरा शब्द नहीं दिया है।

७. वरुणस्य गृहान्रात्रौ वसिष्ठः स्वप्न आचरत।
प्रविवेशाथ तं तत्र श्वा नदन्नभ्यधावत।
क्रन्दन्तं सारमेयं स धावन्तं दष्टुमुद्यतम्।
यदर्जुनेति च द्वाभ्यां सान्त्वयित्वा व्य (न्य) सुष्वपत्।
स तं प्रस्वापयामास जनमन्यं च वारुणम्।

बृहद्देवता, ६. ११. १३.

८. वेदिशे स्तूदियन २-२५ (देखिये, मैक्डानल, 'वैदिक इन्डेक्स', पृ ३०८)।

सायण एक दूसरी कथा भी देते हैं। उनके अनुसार तीन दिनों से भूखे-प्यासे वसिष्ठ चौथी रात्रि में वरुण के घर में कुछ चुरा कर खाने के लिये घुसते हैं। कोष्ठागार में घुसने के पूर्व ही कुत्ता उन्हें भौंकते हुये घर-दवाने के लिये दौड़ता है पर उक्त सूक्त के पाठ से वे उसे शान्त कर सुला देते हैं। अतः सायण के अनुसार चोरों और डाकुओं के लिये पकड़े जाने के खतरे के समय इस सूक्त का पाठ उपादेय है। पिशेल के अनुसार वसिष्ठ अपने पिता की सम्पत्ति चुराने के लिये घुसते हैं।

इसके विपरीत आफरेक्ट, ब्लूमफील्ड, मैक्डानल, तथा ओल्डेनबर्ग आदि के अनुसार इस सूक्त में एक कन्या के पास किसी प्रेमी के आगमन का संदर्भ है। ग्रिफिथ[९] के अनुसार इस सूक्त में तीन विभिन्न विषयों से सम्बद्ध मंत्र-समूहों का एकत्रीकरण है। प्रथम भाग (मंत्र १) गृहदेवता वास्तोष्पति को सम्बोधित है। द्वितीय भाग (मंत्र २-४) इन्द्र के स्तोताओं द्वारा भौंकते कुत्ते को शान्त करने एवं सुलाने के लिये और तृतीय अंश (मंत्र ५-८) घर के अन्य प्राणियों को सुलाने के लिये निद्रा-गीत (लोरी) है। पी० वी० काणे[१०] के अनुसार यह निद्रा लाने वाला सूक्त है जो संभवतः अनिद्रा की शिकायत से पीड़ित व्यक्ति के लिये प्रयुक्त हुआ था। एच० डी० वेलंकर[११] का मत है कि घर के समस्त सदस्यों के निद्रा रोग को दूर करने के लिये यह सूक्त है।

अब हम प्रथम मत लेते हैं। वसिष्ठ वरुण के पुत्र माने गये हैं।[१२] पुत्र होते हुये वे अपने पिता के घर में दवे पाँव चोरों की तरह घुसें, यह संगत नहीं लगता।

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९. "...... the hymn appears to be made up of three corresponding pieces unconneeted by their subjects".

१०. "......a sleep inducing spell...was probably employed by a purohita to put to sleep some noble man complaining of sleeplessness at night." 'हिस्ट्री ऑफ धर्मशास्त्र ५ (२), १९६२, पृ. १०३५.

११. "......to correct a disease of sleeplessness among the inmates of the house.. It is undoubtedly so being primarily composed for correcting the defect of sleeplessness of men and women in the house of a rich noble."
'ऋग्वेद मंडल ७', १९६३, पृ. १२४.

१२. ऋग्वेद, ७.३३.११.

नैतिक सम्राट वरुण पापियों को कठोर दंड देने वाले कहे गये हैं। उनके अपने दूत (स्पशः) हैं जो उन्हें सबके बारे में सूचना देते रहते हैं। चौर कर्म एक घोर पाप कर्म है और वसिष्ठ ऋग्वेद काल के एक प्रसिद्ध ऋषि एवं पुरोहित हैं। उनके बारे में यह सम्भावना नहीं की जा सकती कि वे सोने अथवा भोजन के निमित्त चोर की तरह घुसेंगे। दूसरी बात यह है कि उस समय घर की स्थिति यह है कि कोई बैठा है, कोई चल रहा है, कोई प्रवेशार्थी को (प्रकट अथवा अप्रकट रूप से) देख भी रहा है। घर में सभी सजग मालुम पड़ रहे हैं।[१३] इसके अतिरिक्त सूक्त में वक्ता कुत्ते को चोर और तस्कर पर आक्रमण करने के लिये कहता है और इस प्रकार स्वयं के चोर अथवा तस्कर होने की सम्भावना का खण्डन करता है[१४]। इससे प्रतीत होता है कि प्रवेश करने वाला व्यक्ति एक प्रतिष्ठित भद्र पुरुष है और यह भी कि उसका प्रवेश अवैध नहीं है। वह अकेला भी नहीं है जैसा कि सम्बन्धित कथा में बताया गया है। उसके साथ अन्य लोग भी हैं। अतः इन सब कारणों से प्रथम उद्देश्य की सिद्धि नहीं होती है। काणे आदि का मत भी ग्राह्य नहीं है क्योंकि एक साथ पूरे परिवार में अनिद्रा की शिकायत मानना व्यावहारिक नहीं है। यह संक्रामक या वंशानुगत व्याधि नहीं है।

इसी प्रकार प्रेमी वाला उद्देश्य भी सिद्ध नहीं होता क्योंकि हम देखते हैं कि वक्ता बिना किसी पक्षपात के घर की समस्त महिलाओं को सुलाता है[१५]। किसी स्त्री विशेष पर उसका आग्रह नहीं है। इसे प्रेम-विषयक यातु बनाने के लिये

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१३. य आस्ते यश्च चरति यश्च पश्यति नो जनः।
तेषां सं हन्मो अक्षाणि यथेदं हर्म्यं तथा। ऋग्वेद ७.५५.६

१४. स्तेनं राय सारमेय तस्करं वा पुनः सर।
स्तोतॄनिन्द्रस्य रायसि किमस्मान् दुच्छुनायसे नि षु स्वप। ऋग्वेद ७.५५.३

१५. ७.५५.८

अथर्वण ऋषि को अथर्ववेद संहिता ४.५ में आवश्यक संशोधन करने पड़े हैं[१६]। तब इस सूक्त का मूल अभीष्ट या विनियोग क्या है ?

इस सूक्त के अध्ययन में जो सबसे महत्वपूर्ण तथ्य है, वह यह है कि इसका प्रारम्भ 'वास्तोष्पति' की प्रार्थना से होता है।[१७] अथर्ववेद ४.५ में 'वास्तोष्पति' विषयक मंत्र नहीं है। अतः 'ऋग्वेद' ७.५५ में 'वास्तोष्पति' की स्तुति, इस बात की पुष्टि करती है कि यहाँ इसकी स्थिति एक विशेष उद्देश्य से है। 'वास्तोष्पति' गृह रक्षक, गृह पालक देवता हैं[१८]। एक पूरा सूक्त (ऋग्वेद ७.५४) इनकी स्तुति में है जिसमें वास्तोष्पति की स्तुति गृहदेवता, रोग नाशक (अमीवहा), आयुष्य-प्रदायक, मित्र, द्विपाद एवं चतुष्पादों के रक्षक एवं हर प्रकार के अनिष्टों से बचाने वाले अर्थात् गृह एवं गृह में रहने वाले समस्त प्राणियों का योग क्षेम वहन करने एवं भौतिक सुख-सौभाग्य प्रदायक के रूप में की गई है। गृह्यसूत्रों[१९] में ऋग्वेद ७.५४ एवं ७.५५.१ का प्रयोग 'वास्तुशान्ति' या, 'वास्तुशमन' में बताया गया है। 'वास्तुशान्ति' नये बने भवन में प्रवेश करने के समय हर प्रकार के अनिष्टों और दुष्टात्माओं के निवारणार्थ और धन-धान्य, स्वास्थ्य, दीर्घ आयु एवं पुत्र-पौत्रादि जनित सुख की प्राप्ति के लिये की जाती है। बौधायन गृह्यसूत्र तो इस शान्ति कर्म को प्रतिमास तथा प्रतिवर्ष भी करने का विधान करता है। इसके अनुसार[२०] 'गृहशान्ति कर्म' में

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१६. अथर्ववेद ४·५·६ में ऋग्वेद के 'सर्वे' के स्थान पर 'अस्यै' का प्रयोग। मंत्र २, ४, ७ भी द्रष्टव्य हैं।

१७. अमीवहा वास्तोष्पते विश्वा रूपाण्याविशन्
सखा सुशेव एधि नः। १।

१८. निरुक्त १०.१७ में 'वास्तोष्पति' के लिये "वास्तुर्वसतोर्निवास-कर्मणस्तस्य पाता वा पालयिता वा" कहा गया है। दुर्ग ने इसे इन्द्र या रुद्र माना है। ऋग्वेद में इनका नाम कुल सात बार आया है।

१९. आश्वलायन गृह्यसूत्र २.९.६–९; पारस्कर गृह्यसूत्र ३.४.५–१८; बौधायन गृह्यसूत्र ३.५; बौधायन गृह्यशेषसूत्र १.१८; सामविधान ब्राह्मण ३.३.५; मत्स्य पुराण २५६,२६८

२०. ३. ५.

पुरोनुवाक्या "वास्तोष्पते प्रति जानीहि" और याज्या "वास्तोष्पते सग्मया" के साथ हविप्रदान के अनन्तर की आहुतियाँ निम्न मंत्रों से देनी चाहिये—"वास्तोष्पते ध्रुवा स्थूणा", 'गृह्यं भयं यच्चेद्', "अक्षिस्पन्देऽङ्गचले च यद्भयं यद्वाशिते यदु चेद् दुरुक्ते", दुःस्वप्ने पापस्वप्ने च यद्भयं", "वास्तोष्पते प्रतरणो न एधि" , "अमीवहा वास्तोष्पते[२५]" । ब्राह्मण भोजन से इस कृत्य का समापन होता है। इसमें प्रयुक्त गृह्यं भयं यच्चेद्" आदि तीन पंक्तियाँ कहाँ से ली गई हैं, यह मालुम नहीं हो सका है। पर इनका अपना महत्व है। इनसे यह प्रकट होता है कि "गृह शान्तिकर्म" द्वारा गृह सम्बन्धी हर प्रकार का भय यहाँ तक कि दुःस्वप्न भय भी दूर करना अभीष्ट है। ऋग्वेद के प्रस्तुत सूक्त का उद्देश्य सब को गाढ़ निद्रा प्रदान करना है। यह तभी संभव है जब कि व्यक्ति स्वस्थ हो। 'वास्तोष्पति' का "अमीवहा" विशेषण बड़ा ही महत्वपूर्ण है। ऋग्वेद ७.५४ एवं ७.५५.१ दोनों में ही वास्तोष्पति के इस गुण विशेष की स्तुति की गई है और इनसे लम्बी और जरा रहित आयु की प्रार्थना की गई है। गाढ़ निद्रा एवं स्वास्थ्य और सुख का घनिष्ट सम्बन्ध है। अतः यह सम्भावना की जा सकती है कि प्रस्तुत सूक्त 'गृहशान्ति' के लिये प्रयुक्त होता था। सब का सुख-निद्रा में लीन होना शान्ति का प्रतीक है। यहाँ फ्रेज़र के "सिम्पैथेटिक मैजिक" का "लॉ आफ सिमिलैरिटी" लागू होता है, जिसके अनुसार प्रतीकात्मक शान्ति से वास्तविक शान्ति प्राप्त की जाती है।

अब आगे यह सिद्ध करने का प्रयत्न किया जा रहा है कि प्रकटतः असम्बद्ध दिखाई पड़ने वाले मंत्रों में भी एक एकता का सूत्र वर्तमान है जो उपर्युक्त विशिष्ट उद्देश्य की पूर्ति करता है।

सर्वप्रथम जो द्रष्टव्य है वह यह कि प्रथम मंत्र को छोड़ कर शेष सभी के देवता इन्द्र हैं। प्रवेश करने वाले अपने को इन्द्र के स्तोता बताते हैं। ऋग्वेद में इन्द्र से ही आयुर्वेद परम्परा का प्रादुर्भाव मर्त्य लोक में माना गया है। वैदिक काल में पुरोहित लोग चिकित्सा कार्य भी करते थे[२४]। आज भी कुछ पुरोहित परिवारों में

२१. ८. १७. १४.

२२. ७. ५४. २.

२३. ७. ५५. १.

२४. विप्रः स उच्यते भिषग्रक्षोहामीवचातनः। ऋ. वे. १०.९७.६

यजमानी वृत्ति के साथ 'वैद्यक' चलता है। इस सूक्त में वक्ता पुरोहित अपने सहायक पुरोहितों के साथ, एक धनी और भद्र परिवार में सभी व्यक्तियों को मंत्र द्वारा गाढ़ निद्रा एवं सुख, सौभाग्य प्रदान करने हेतु आता है।

दूसरी बात जो द्रष्टव्य है, वह है "दुच्छुनायसे"[२५] शब्द का प्रयोग। "दुच्छुना" का अर्थ दुष्टात्मा है। यहाँ कुत्ते की दुष्टात्मा से तुलना की गई है। कुत्ते को 'सारमेय'[२६] कह कर सम्बोधित किया गया है और उससे स्तेन और तस्कर पर आक्रमण करने के लिये कहा गया है और यह भी कि "तुम वराह को फाड़ खाओ और वराह तुम्हें"[२७]। सारमेय दुष्टात्माओं के रोकने वाले माने गये हैं। यहाँ अभिप्राय यह है कि हम तो स्तोता-गण हैं, तुम अपने शत्रुओं अर्थात् दुष्टात्माओं पर आक्रमण करो। हमें मत परेशान करो। इस प्रकार यह शब्द भी बड़ा सार्थक है।

तीसरी बात है, मंत्र ६[२८] में "हर्म्य" शब्द का प्रयोग। प्रस्तुत सूक्त 'वास्तु' से सम्बन्धित है, यह शब्द इसको पुष्ट करता प्रतीत होता है।

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२५. "किमस्मान् दुच्छुनायसे" ७.५५.३.

२६. यम के कुत्ते। देखिये ऋ. वे. १०.१४.१०–१२.

२७. त्वं सूकरस्य दर्दृहि तव दर्दर्तु सूकरः।

वराह-कुक्कुर का शत्रुभाव ऋ. वे. १०. ८६.४ में भी वर्णित है।

२८. य आस्ते यश्च चरति यश्च पश्यति नो जनः

तेषां सं हन्मो अक्षीणि यथेदं हर्म्यं तथा।

सायण—यः जनः आस्ते अस्मिन् प्रदेशे तिष्ठति यश्च चरति गच्छति यश्च जनः नः अस्मान् पश्यति एवं भूतानां तेषां जनानां अक्षाणि इन्द्रियाणि संहन्मः संहनाम। संहतिर्निमीलनम्। निमीलयामेत्यर्थः। इदं प्रत्यक्षेणोपलभ्यमानं हर्म्यं प्रासादादिस्थावरात्मकं वस्तुजातं यथा निश्चलं भवति तथा इमे सर्वे जना निश्चला भवन्त्वित्यर्थः।

वेंकट माधव—यथा इदं हर्म्यं अविचलत् तिष्ठति तथा सर्वः जनः अविचलस्तिष्ठतु सुप्तः।

चौथी बात जो विचारणीय है, वह है विशेषण "सहस्रशृङ्ग"[२९] का प्रयोग। मंत्रकृत् स्वीकार करता है कि "सहस्रशृङ्ग वृषभ" की सहायता से ही वह सबको प्रगाढ़ निद्रा प्रदान करने में समर्थ हुआ है। यह 'सहस्रशृङ्ग वृषभ" है कौन ? सायण[३०] के अनुसार यह 'सूर्य' है। ग्रिफिथ भी यही मान कर व्याख्या करते हैं "whose setting brings the time of rest and sleep"। दूसरा वैकल्पिक अर्थ "starry heaven" भी करते हैं। लेकिन सूर्य अर्थ लेने पर यह कल्पना करनी पड़ती है कि "वह सूर्य जिसका अस्तभाव विश्राम और सोने का समय लाता है"। सूक्त का वर्ण्य-विषय सबको सुलाना है। निद्रा-रात्रि और चन्द्रमा-रात्रि की परस्पर संगति है। सूर्य अर्थ लेने पर अर्थ की विसंगति हो जाती है। अतः यहाँ निश्चय ही चन्द्रमा से अभिप्राय है। हिलेब्रान्ट ने "वेदिशे माइथोलाजी" में वेदों में भी सोम-चन्द्र का तादात्म्य दिखाया है। सोम 'वृषभ' है; उसके लिये तिग्मशृङ्ग विशेषण कई बार वृषभार्थक शब्द के साथ आया है। जब सोम के रव का वर्णन करना होता है तो उसकी उपमा वृषभ के साथ दी जाती है। सोम को "सहस्रधार वृषभ[३२] भी कहा गया है। वेदोत्तर साहित्य में तो सोम "चन्द्र" का स्थाई नाम हो गया है। चूँकि ऋ. वे. ७.५४.४ में "वास्तोष्पति" को इन्दु[३३] कहा गया है और इन्दु 'सोम' को कहा जाता है, अतः यहाँ निश्चय ही "सहस्रशृङ्ग वृषभ" से तात्पर्य "सोम' अथवा कहें 'चन्द्र' से है। सोम का इन्द्र के साथ घनिष्ट सम्बन्ध है जिसके कारण ही सोम को वृत्रहा, पुरन्दर, वृत्रहन् तक कहा गया है। जैसे इन्द्र को 'भिषक्' कहा गया है, वैसे ही सोम में भी भेषज शक्ति मानी गई है। इन सब कारणों से "सहस्रशृङ्ग वृषभ" रात्रि में आरोग्यकारी निद्रा का कारक है।

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२९. सहस्रशृङ्गो वृषभो यः समुद्रादुदाचरत्

तेना सहस्येना वयं नि जनान्त्स्वापयामसि।

३०. सहस्रशृङ्गः सहस्रकिरणः वृषभः कामानां वर्षिता यः सूर्यः समुद्रात् अम्बुधेः सकाशात् उदाचरत् उदागच्छति सहस्येन अभिभवित्रा तेन सूर्येण वयं स्तोतारः जनान् सर्वान् निष्वापयामसि नितरां स्वापयामः।

३१. ऋ. वे. ६.४४.२१; १०.८६.१५; ९.७०.७; ९.१५.४

३२. ऋ. वे. ९.९६.९; ९.१०८.११;

३३. गयस्फानो गोभिरश्वेभिरिन्दो।

उपर्युक्त बातों से स्पष्ट है कि पूरे सूक्त में आपस में सम्बन्ध है और वह विभिन्न मंत्र समूहों का एकीकरण नहीं है। प्रस्तुत सूक्त "वास्तु" एवं 'वास्तोष्पति" देवता विषयक क्रिया विशेष से सम्बन्धित है। जैसा कि पहले कहा जा चुका है ऋग्वेद के ७.५५.१ का अथर्ववेद ४.५ में लोप तथा अन्य मंत्रों में कुछ संशोधन इस बात की पुष्टि करते हैं कि ऋ. वे. ७.५५. मूलतः "वास्तुशमन" से सम्बन्धित था, पर बाद में गृह्यसूत्रकारों ने अन्य मंत्रों का 'वास्तुशमन' से स्पष्ट सम्बन्ध न प्रतीत होने एवं परम्परा के विस्मृत हो जाने के कारण उनका विनियोग नहीं किया। इस प्रकार प्रस्तुत स्वापन सूक्त का मूल उद्देश्य न चौर-कर्म के लिये, न प्रेमिका के पास जाने के लिये और न ही अनिद्रा रोग दूर करने के लिये है बल्कि इसका उद्देश्य भवन में रहने वालों को स्वास्थ्य, समृद्धि प्रदान करके उन्हें दुष्टात्माओं और अनिष्टों से बचाना है। गाढ़ निद्रा सुख, शान्ति का प्रतीक है। 'गृह शान्ति' के साथ स्वापन क्रिया का सम्बन्ध इस प्रकार से भी सिद्ध होता है कि आज भी नये बने भवन में, पूजन के पश्चात् कम से कम एक रात्रि परिवार के साथ सोने का विधान है। किसी भी नये स्थान पर स्वाभाविक है कि ठीक से नींद न आवे। सब की निर्विघ्न निद्रा शान्ति का प्रतीक है। इस प्रकार पूरा सूक्त एक निश्चित उद्देश्य को सिद्ध करता है।

इस सूक्त में वैदिक यातु की मूल प्रकृति लक्षित होती है। पुरोहित वक्ता का स्वर आदेशात्मक तथा स्वयं में कर्तृत्व शक्ति की भावना से ओतप्रोत है। वह सबकी आँखें बलात् बन्द कर देता है[३४]। पर सुलाने की यह शक्ति पुरोहित चिकित्सक को देवताओं की कृपा से मिली है, स्वयं उद्भूत नहीं है। सातवें मंत्र में वह स्पष्ट रूप से कहता है कि सहस्रशृङ्ग वृषभ की शक्ति से ही वह सबको प्रगाढ़ निद्रा प्रदान करने में समर्थ हुआ है। इस प्रकार सूक्त की यातुपरक धार्मिक प्रकृति (magico–religious nature) स्पष्ट है।

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३४. मंत्र ६

INFLUENCE OF THE RAMĀYĀNA ON THE ABHIJNĀNA ŚĀKUNTALAM
—A NEW LIGHT

S. G. MOGHE*

In this paper, an attempt is being made to point out with conclusive evidence the influence of the *Rāmāyaṇa* on the *Śākuntalam*[1] of Kālidasa. Dr. H.B. Jain has already pointed out in his article some aspect of the influence of the *Rāmāyaṇa* on the *Śākuntalam*. In this paper, I have, therefore, tried to deal with those new points that are not touched or handled by the learned doctor in his article, with a view to throwing new light on this topic.

In the first Act, when the charioteer was just explaining to his master the cause as to why the deer had advanced to a long distance he came to a level ground. This passage[2] shows that the

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References are to the pages of the Chowkhamba edition, the *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa*, published in 1957.

१ "अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तल पर वाल्मीकि-रामायण का प्रभाव" "published in the *Vikram*, Kālidasa Special Number X. 1957. vide pp. 63-68.

२. "आयुष्मन्! उद्घातिनी भूमिरिति मया रश्मिसंयमनात् रथस्य मन्दीकृतो वेगः। तेन मृग एष विप्रकृष्टान्तरः संवृत्तः। संप्रति समदेशवर्तिनस्ते न दुरासदो भविष्यति।

knowledge of the evenness and unevenness of the ground is absolutely necessary for a charioteer running the chariot. This knowledge is possible in the case of our dramatist in view of his having read the *Rāmāyaṇa, Yuddhakāṇḍa*[3] 104.19, where the essential knowledge of the position of a ground and other factors is incidentally conveyed to a charioteer who is required to go to the battle-field. Kālidāsa has, it appears, fruitfully employed the principle of this knowledge in the *Śākuntalam*.

The idea that the performers of the religious duties become possessed of a guardian due to the visit of an officer of the King or a King to the penance-grove hinted at in the 1st Act of the *Śākuntalam*, in the words of Anasūyā *"sanāthā idānīṁ dharma-cāriṇaḥ"* also has its trace in the Rāmāyaṇa, Araṇyakāṇḍa 7.8, when in particular Rāma visits the penance-grove of the sage known as Sutīkṣṇa, the following line[4] uttered by the sages deserves to be specially noted. This idea must have been at the back of the mind of our gifted poet.

The idea of respecting or worshipping the king with fruits and nuts by the sages, referred to in the 2nd

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३. स्थलनिम्नानि भूमेश्च समानि विषमाणि च ।
युद्धकालश्च विज्ञेयः परस्यान्तरदर्शनम् ।। युद्धकाण्ड १०५.१९ ।।
उपयानापयाने च स्थानं प्रत्यपसर्पणम् ।
सर्वमेतद्रथस्थेन ज्ञेयं रथकुटुम्बिना ।। युद्धकाण्ड, १०५. २० ।।

४. स्वागतं ते रघुश्रेष्ठ राम सत्यभृतां वर ।
आश्रमोऽयं त्वया क्रान्तः सनाथ इव सांप्रतम् ।। अरण्यकाण्ड, ७८ ।।

Act of the *Śākuntalam*, when the two hermit boys approach the king Duṣyanta with fruits (iti phalāni upāharataḥ) for help. This has its trace in the *Rāmāyaṇa Araṇyakāṇḍa*,[5] 12.31, where the sage Agastya worships Rāma by offering him fruits and roots. Possibly Kālidāsa has adopted the mode by which the king is to be respected or worshipped by the sages. In this connection, the only possible difference that can be pointed out by a careful reader is that in the 2nd Act of the *Śākuntalam*, the two hermit boys approach the King for help and here in the *Araṇyakāṇḍa*, Rāma visits the hermitage of Agastya; otherwise the mode of worship adopted in both works is also the same.

The conception that the king rightfully protecting the subjects get the merit of the sages, put in the mouth of the king Duṣyanta[6] also can be traced to the *Rāmāyaṇa Araṇyakāṇḍa*,[7] 6.14, when the sage Śarabhaṅga went to heaven, the other sages approached Rāma for help and utter this stanza. In this respect, it is possible to say that Kālidāsa has differed from the *Rāmāyaṇa* in respect of the share of the merit, the king gets from the sages, and followed the *Mahābhārata*. Here incidentally it deserves to be noticed that Kālidāsa has not made a

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५. एवमुक्त्वा फलैर्मूलैः पुष्पैश्चान्यैश्च राघवम् ।
पूजयित्वा यथाकामं ततोऽगस्त्यस्तमब्रवीत् ॥ अरण्यकाण्ड १२·३१ ॥

६. यदुत्तिष्ठति वर्णेभ्यो नृपाणां क्षयि तद्धनम् ।
तपःषड्भागमक्षय्यं ददत्यारण्यका हि नः ॥ Act 2, v. 13

७. यत्करोति परं धर्मं मुनिर्मूलफलाशनः ।
तत्र राज्ञश्चतुर्भागः प्रजा धर्मेण रक्षतः ॥ अरण्यकाण्ड, ६·१४ ॥

reference to the fact that the king shares the demerits of the subjects too. The idea of the king sharing the demerits of the subjects is very well brought out by Karṇa in the *Karṇa-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* while making the down-right condemnation of the people from the Vāhīka country. The stanza[8] put in the mouth of Karṇa may be noted in this context.

The episode of Triśaṅku incidentally referred to by the remark of the Vidūṣaka in the words "*Triśaṅku ivāntarāle tiṣṭha*" in the 2nd Act of the *Śākuntalam,* also can be traced back to the *Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa,*[9] Adhyāya 60, when Viśvāmitra decides to send Triśaṅku to the heaven in the bodily form and gods too do not allow him to come up and hence the poor chap was required to stay in the midway. It is equally possible to say here that Kālidāsa might have at the back of his mind the present story from the *Harivaṁśa,* 1.12.23 of the Mahābharata.

The idea of the Viśākhā constellation appearing beautiful in the company of the moon, referred to in the 3rd Act of the *Śākuntalam* by the king Duṣyanta[10] also can be traced back to the *Rāmāyaṇa, Yuddhakāṇḍa* 76-15. The following lines[11] in this context deserve to be

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८. ईदृशा ब्राह्मणेनोक्ता वाह्लीका मोघचारिणः ।
येषां षड्भागहर्ता त्वमुभयोः शुभपापयोः ॥ महाभारत कर्णपर्व. ३०,२७ ॥

९. स्वर्गलोकं गतं दृष्ट्वा त्रिशंकुं पाकशासनः
सह सर्वैः सुरगणैरिदं वचनमब्रवीत् ॥ रामायण, बालकाण्ड, ६०,१६ ॥

१०. किमत्र चित्रं यदि विशाखे शशाङ्कलेखामनुवर्तते ।

११. तयोर्मध्ये कपिश्रेष्ठः शोणिताक्षप्रजंथयोः ।
विशाखयोर्मध्यगतः पूर्णचन्द्र इवाबभौ ॥ रामायण,युद्धकाण्ड, ७६·१५ ॥

quoted. In this respect, it can be incidentally noted that Kālidāsa has used the expression "*śaśāṅka lekhā*" and Vālmiki has used the expression *Pūrṇa-candra*. But here one will have to admit that the use of this idea on the part of Kālidāsa is really ingeneious and poetic as compared to the one in the Rāmāyaṇa in view of the context in which it is used.

In the V Act of the *Śākuntalam*, when both Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā argue out their cases by making cogent arguments Śakuntalā makes a downright condemnation of Duṣyanta[12] thereby indicating that he resembles a dangerous well, the opening of which is covered with grass and which consequently looks like ordinary ground. The above simile in the case of our poet is possible in view of his knowledge of the *Rāmāyaṇa Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*, Adhyāya 17. Here the incident is like this. When Rama discharges an arrow at Vālī at the instance of Sugrīva, Vālī starts making downright condemnation of Rāma, by comparing him to a well covered with grass. In this connection, the lines[13] actually put in the mouth of Vālī by the poet Vālmiki deserve to be noted. This significant simile of Vālmīki, must be at the back of the mind of our poet. The only possible distinction that can be pointed out by a discernible reader is that in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Vālī finds

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१२. "कः इदानीमन्यो धर्मकञ्चुकप्रवेशिनस्तृणच्छन्नकूपोपमस्य तवानुकृतिं प्रतिपत्स्यते ।"

१३. सत्वां विनिहितात्मानं धर्मध्वजमधार्मिकम् ।
जाने पापसमाचारं तृणैः कूपमिवावृतम् ॥ रामायण, किष्किधाकाण्ड, १७.२२ ॥

fault with Rāma by using this simile; while in the V Act of the *Śākuntalam,* it is Śākuntalā who tries to find fault with the king Duṣyanta. The simile in this context is apt in bringing the point home. Here one has to keep at the back of one's mind that both Vālī and Śakuntalā are the parties who are hurt by the opponents. One was physically and perhaps mortally wounded; while the other one, i. e., Śakuntalā was mentally wounded. How ingenious is the use of this simile on the part of our dramatist Kālidāsa ?

Again the idea of Śārangrava in the V act of the *Śākuntalam,* that the position[14] of a married woman becomes pitiable and ridiculous in the absence of her association with her husband also has its trace in the Rāmāyaṇa[15], Ayodhyākāṇḍa, when Sītā successfully pleads her case for persuading Rāma to take her to the forest. In this context, the expression *"kulasyādhayaḥ"* used by Kaṇva in his pithy advice to his worthy daughter Śakuntalā in the IVth Act, must be borne in mind by a careful student of the Kālidāsian litrature. One may note here that the expression *kulapānsani* of *Rāmāyaṇa* must be at the back of the mind of Kālidāsa in using the expression *"kulasyādhayaḥ"* in the *Śākuntalam.*

Duṣyanta's significant remark *"anirvarṇanīyam para-kalatraṁ"* in the V Act of the *Śākuntalam*, looking at

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१४. सतीमपि ज्ञातिकुलैकसंश्रयां जनोऽन्यथा भर्तृमतीं विशङ्कते ।
अतः समीपे परिणेतुरिष्यते प्रियाप्रियाऽवा प्रमदा स्वबन्धुभिः ॥
शाकुन्तलम् ५,१७ ॥

१५. न त्वहं मनसाप्यन्यं द्दष्टास्मि त्वदृतेऽनघ ।
त्वया राघव गच्छेयं यथान्या कुलपांसनी ॥ रामायण, अयोध्याकाण्ड, ३०·७ ॥

Śakuntala or *dāratyāgī bhavāmyāho parastrīsparśapāṁsulaḥ* V 29, is indeed a considerable advancement upon the particular portion of the Rāmāyaṇa. In the *Rāmāyaṇa Araṇyakāṇḍa*, Mārīca while trying to advice Rāvaṇa, very rightly points out that *paradārābhimarśana*, i.e., molestation of the wife of other tends to produce a great sin and will end in the complete annihilation of the family of the demons. And hence Rāvaṇa should swerve from molesting the wife of other person. In this respect the lines[16] from the mouth of Mārīca will serve as an instance in point. Kālidāsa has really made an advancement in the moral standard upon Vālmīki by making the two comments in the *Śākuntalam*. Kālidāsa's hero is not ready to cast an (amorous) glance at the wives of others. Far from it is the talk of the molestation of the wives of others.

A reference to the rohita fish in *Praveśaka* of the VI Act of the *Śākuntalaṁ*, is also very significant. We do not get any definite information about this rohita fish elsewhere. But a reference to this fish occurs in the *Rāmāyaṇa-Araṇyakāṇḍa*[17]. While going to the *Ṛṣyamūka* mountain, Rāma points out that in the puṣkariṇī Pampā on the way, there are different kinds of fishes. And in the list of these fishes, there is a reference to the rohita

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१६. परदाराभिमर्शात्तु नान्यत्पापतरं महत् । अरण्यकाण्ड, ३८·३० as also
निवार्यमाणः सुहृदा मया भृशं प्रसह्यसीतां यदि धर्षयिष्यसि ।
गमिष्यसि क्षीणबलः सबान्धवो यमक्षयं रामशरास्तजीवितः ॥
अरण्यकाण्ड, ३८·३३ ॥

१७. रोहितांश्चक्रतुण्डांश्च नलमीनांश्च राघव । पम्पायामिषुभिर्मत्स्यांस्तत्र राम वरान् हतान् ॥ रामायण, अरण्यकाण्ड ॥ ७३·१४ ॥

fish. This incident of the *Araṇyakāṇḍa* might be at the back of the mind of our poet Kālidāsa in making a reference to the rohita, particularly in the sixth act of the *Śākuntalam.*

A reference to Mātali in the heart of the sixth Act, again is very significant. Here Mātali at the command of Indra approaches Duṣyanta requesting him to mount on the car of Indra for going to the heaven in order to defeat the group of demons called Durjaya at the head of the battle. In the *Rāmayaṇa* also in order to bring about the destruction of Rāvaṇa for releasing the gods from the clutches of Rāvaṇa, Indra sends Mātali with a chariot on the *terra firma* just to help Rāma against the battle with Rāvaṇa. This is referred to in the *Rāmāyaṇa-Yuddhakāṇḍa.* In this respect, the verses[18] from the Yuddhakāṇḍa deserve to be noticed. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Indra was mainly concerned with the welfare of the gods and for that purpose sends Mātali with a chariot. Here in the sixth act of the *Śākuntalam*, Indra wanted to help the gods in destroying the demons and so takes the help of Duṣyanta and for that purpose he sends Mātali with a chariot. Is this not a close similarity between the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Śākuntalam?*

In the *Praveśaka* of the sixth act of the *Śākuntalam*, the policemen[19] tell the fisherman that he will be an

१८. रथेन मम भूयिष्ठं शीघ्रं याहि रघूत्तमम् ।
आहूय भूतलं यातः कुरु देवहितं महत् ॥
इत्युक्तो देवराजेन मातलिर्देवसारथिः ।
प्रणम्य शिरसा देवं ततो वचनमब्रवीत् ॥ रामायण, युद्धकाण्ड १०३·७-८

१९. गृध्रबलिर्भविष्यसि, शुनो मुखं वा द्रक्ष्यसि । शाकुन्तल, Act VI

offering to a vulture or he will see the mouth of a dog. Here it is evident that Kālidāsa is possibly referring to the severe punishment imposed upon the thieves caught red-handed. Though it is true that in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, such a punishment is not imposed upon any one, yet in the *Rāmāyaṇa's Yuddhakāṇḍa*, there is a reference to the offering of the body of a person dead in a battle to the vultures, jackals and others, probably for the eating purpose. In this respect, the following stanza[20] from the *Rāmāyaṇa's Yuddhakāṇḍa* deserves special attention. The only possible difference between the two statements is that in the *Rāmāyaṇa's Yuddhakāṇḍa*, Indrajit utters this stanza with special reference to Lakṣamaṇa; while in the *Śākuntalam*, the second policeman addresses the fisherman with this remark. Any way, the expression *"gṛdhrāśca nipatantu tvām"* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is in agreement with the expession *gṛdhrabalirbhaviṣyasi* of the *Śākuntalam*.

Some of the popular poetic conventions or the superstitions used by Kālidāsa such as the throbbing of the arm, eye and the idea that the tears of sorrow are hot are also practically referred to in the *Rāmāyaṇa's Araṇyakāṇḍa* and the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*. Needless to say that much stress can be given on this point. The throbbing of the arm of Duṣyanta in the first act when he visits the hermitage of Kaṇva and also the throbbing of right eye of Śakuntalā when she visits the court of the king Duṣyanta, referred to by Kālidāsa can be traced

२०. अद्य गोमायुसङ्घाश्च श्येनसङ्घाश्च लक्ष्मण ।
गृध्राश्च निपतन्तु त्वां गतासुं निहितं मया ॥ रामायण, युद्धकाण्ड ८८·२३ ॥

back to the *Rāmāyaṇa's Araṇyakāṇḍa*[21] when both Rāma and Lakṣamaṇa came back to the hermitage after killing the deer, the left eye of Rāma began to throb. Moreover, the idea that the tears of sorrow are hot, as referred to in the *Śākuntalam*, III.12, also can be traced back to the *Rāmāyaṇa's Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, when Sītā requests Rama to take her to the forest, her tears, at that time, were described by Valmīki to be hot. In this respect, the following stanza[22] deserves special attention.

Some of the descriptions of the heroine given by Kalidāsa in his *Śākuntalam* resemble those given in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. In this connection, the attention of a careful reader can be invited to the description of Śakuntala in the first Act, verse 21, which runs thus *komala-viṭapānukāriṇau bāhū*. The latter part of this stanza stands in comparison with the description of Sitā made by Rama. In this respect, it will not be out of place if the following line[23] is quoted. Again the description of Śakuntala separated from her husband in the VII Act of the

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२१. मृशमाव्रजमानस्य तस्याधो वामलोचनम् ।

प्रास्फुरच्चास्खलद्रामो वेपथुश्चास्यजायते ॥ रामायण, अरण्यकाण्ड ६१·१ ॥

२२. एवमुक्ता तु सा चिन्तां मैथिली समुपागता ।

स्नापयन्तीव गामुष्णैरश्रुभिर्नयनच्युतैः ॥ रामायण, अयोध्याकाण्ड २९·२३ ॥

२३. नूनं विक्षिप्यमाणौ तौ बाहू पल्लवकोमलौ । रामायण,अरण्यकाण्ड ६१·३३a ॥

Śākuntalam,[24] can be favourably compared with the description[25] of Sītā separated from Rāma, as it occurs in the *Sundarakāṇḍa*. The line quoted in the foot-note is sufficient to serve the purpose. The epithets *dhṛtaikaveṇiḥ* and *vasane paridhūsare vasānā* of Śakuntalā resemble those of Sītā such as *eka–veṇīdharā vivarṇāṅgī*. Possibly this description of Sītā in the *Sundarakāṇḍa* is at the back of the mind of our poet Kālidāsa.

In conclusion, the above discussion clearly indicates the immense influence of the *Rāmāyaṇa* on the *Śākuntalam* of Kālidāsa. However, this does not detract Kālidāsa from his merits and poetic ability and dramatic techniques. At times, however, Kālidāsa has made an advancement in thought over the *Rāmāyaṇa*. And sometimes, he has made the apt and judicious use of the ideas, similes, thoughts and superstitions scattered in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, in his *magnum opus* with a telling effect. On the whole, one will be tempted to say that though Vālmīki has exercised supreme influence on the works of Kālidāsa and the *Śākuntalam* in particular, yet he is not a servile or blind imitator or follower of the work of Vālmīki.

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२४. वसने परिधूसरे वसाना
नियमक्षाममुखी घृतैकवेणिः ।
अतिनिष्करुणस्य शुद्धशीला
मम दीर्घं विरहव्रतं बिभर्ति ।।शाकुन्तलम् Act VII. 21 ॥

२५. एकवेणीधरा दीना भर्तृचिन्तापरायणा ।
भूमिशय्या विवर्णाङ्गी पद्मिनीव हिमागमे ॥ रामायण, सुन्दरकाण्ड ५८·६० ॥

CULTURAL RELATION OF MITHILA AND ORISSA

BANSIDHAR MOHANTY

The cultural relation of Orissa with Mithila is very old but nothing remarkable in this respect has been achieved by the scholars of either of the two languages speaking regions. In *Skanda Purāṇa* Utkal has been associated with Mithila inconnection with Pañca Gauḍa:

"Sārasvatāḥ-Kānyakubjāḥ Gauḍā Maithilakotkalāḥ /
Pañca-gauḍā iti khyātā Vindhyasyottara-vāsinaḥ" //

Ādikavi Sarala Das the great poet of Oriya literature also mentions the name "Tihuti" meaning Trihut in his Oriya *Mahābhārata*. Jagannātha, the Lord of the world, is the epitome of Orissan culture. According to some critics, Orissa means Puri and Puri means the shrine of Jagannātha, a synthesis of different Hindu religious creeds, including the remote animism of the Śabaras of Orissa, who worship Jagannātha as Śabarī Nārāyaṇa. Jagannātha has been described as Buddha by the Buddhists, Purusottama by the Jainas and Lord Viṣṇu by the Vaiṣṇavas. From 10th Century onward this religious seat has become a Vaiṣṇavite centre of Viṣṇu worshippers in Eastern India. Oriya Vaiṣṇava poets treat Jagannātha as Kṛṣṇa or Viṣṇu incarnate. Jagannātha Puri, being the centre of Vaiṣṇavism, has been the meeting place of various streams of culture of different

parts of India. It is needless to say that Lord Jagannātha had attracted great religious preachers like Śaṅkarācārya of about 800 A. D., Rāmānujācārya, Nimbārka, Vallabhācā.ya, Viṣṇuswami, Ramananda, Śrī Caitnya, Kabir, Nanak, Sankardev and others alongwith hundreds and thousands of saints and sages at different times for devotion and adoration to the Lord.

The history of Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa goes back to the Gupta Age (5th Cent. A. D.) and Bhauma kara rule (7th-8th Cent. A. D.). The Bhaumakaras have described themselves as "*Parama-Saugata, Parama-Māheśwara and Parama Vaiṣṇava*" and the Brajabuli poems of poet Jayadeva alongwith his Sanskrit work "*Gīta Govinda*" gave great impetus to the Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa towards the end of 12th Century A. D. Jayadeva belonged to Kenduvilwa (Present Kenduli village of Puri District). It is needless to mention that the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult of Jayadeva's *Gīta-Govinda* had tremendous influence on the poets and their works of Bengal, Assam and Mithila, the echoes of which is heard in the immortal lyrics of Vidyāpati, Chandi Das, Śaṅkara Deva and hundreds of Caitanya and post-Caitanya Vāiṣṇava poets.

Śrī Caitanya, whose fore-fathers left Jajpur of Cuttack district in the reign of Kapila Bhramarawar, the first Gajapati King of Orissa of the 15th A.D. and settled at Sylhet, again re-appeared at Puri in 1517 A. D. He was born on Phalguna Pūrṇimā (February) of 1485 A. D. and passed away at Puri in Āṣāḍha (June-July) 1533 A. D. He liked Orissa, specially Puri with his intimate associates like Ray Ramananda, Kanhai

Khuntia, Madhavi Dasi, Śikhi Mohanti, Śarvabhauma and above all the then Gajapati king Pratapa Rudra and for many other devotees finding the proper atmosphere for Vaiṣṇavite religious discourses which he had mainly with Ray Ramananda, the ex-minister of Pratāpa Rudra Deva. In *Caitnaya-Caritāmṛta* it is mentioned that Lord Caitanya was very much liking the songs of Candi Das, Vidyāpati, Brajabuli songs of Ray Ramananda and *Kṛṣṇa-Karṇāmṛta* of Vilva Maṅgala and *Gīta Govinda* of Jaydeva.

The poems of Vidyāpati had tremendous effect on ancient Oriya literature especially on Neo-Vaisṇavite lyrics of Oriya poets. Hundreds of songs of Vidyāpati Thakur are to be found in Oriya script in palm-leaf manuscripts of Orissa, which will be dealt in a separate article. The Original songs of the poet have undergone enough changes in Oriya language and require linguistic studies. Oriya Brajabuli lyrics of the 16th-17th centuries and Oriya poets have been immensely influenced by the songs of Vidyāpati and Jayadeva, which are yet to be studied by the scholars of Orissa. I am glad to say that Orissa Sahitya Academy has published, "*Vidyāpati Padāvalī*" with Oriya translation by Pandit Laxmi Narayan Misra, which, I think, will create an interest about the poet among the general public of Orissa. I think this publication is certainly an endeavour to tie again the missing cultural knots between Mithila and Orissa.

Puri was the seat of Sanskrit learning and culture and it had connections with Mithila, which was once a great centre of Sanskrit culture. Many Sanskrit *kāvyas*

and *Smṛti Śāstras* have been written in Orissa. A well known *Smṛti* writer belonging to Orissa was Śāṅkhadhara, the author of '*Smṛti-Samuccaya*, which was accepted as an authority by the *Smṛtikāras* of Utkala, Gauḍa and Mithilā. Chandeswar Thakura, the greatest *Smṛti*-writer of Mithila, belonging to the 14th Century A. D., refers to *Smṛti-Samuccaya* in his *Gṛhastha-Ratnākara*. Vidyāpati Thakura has quoted twice from this book in his *Gaṅgā Vākyāvalī*, whereas this work is cited, once in each of the two works named *Vyavahāra Cintāmaṇi* and *Śuddhi Cintāmaṇi* by the Maithila Vāchaspati Miśra. Though *Smṛti–Samuccaya* was once very popular in Eastern India, no manuscript of this work has yet been discovered.

Śaṅkhadhara, who is found quoted by Chandeswar Thakur of Mithila, can definitely be placed before 1300 A.D. Orissa's contribution to classical Sanskrit literature is considerably great. *Veṇī–Saṁhāra* of Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa (8th Century A.D.), *Anargha Rāghava* of Murari Mishra, (1000 A.D.), *Gīta Govinda* of Jayadeva (12th Cent. A.D.), *Prabodha Candrodaya Nāṭaka* of Krishna Mishra (1050 A. D.), *Naiṣadha–Carita* of Śrīharṣa (1100 A. D.). *Ekāvalī* of Vidyādhara (C. 1300 A. D.), *Sāhitya-Darpaṇa* of Viśvanātha Kavirāja (C. 14th Cent A. D.), *Bharatāmṛta Mahākāvya* of kavi Candra-rāya Divākara Mishra (1509–1529 A.D.), *Bhakti Bhāgavata Mahākāvya* of kavidiṇḍima Jaya-devācarya (C. 16th Cent. A. D.), *Govinda bhaśya* of Balbhādeva Vidyābhuṣaṇa (C.18th Cent. A.D.), are some of the notable works of Sanskrit poets and scholars of Orissa, which have got pan-Indian importance in the domain of Sanskrit literature. For centuries

together we know that Sanskrit scholars of Puri had close associations with those of Mithila, which was once upon a time a seat of Sanskrit learning and culture.

MAITHILI AND ORIYA LANGUAGE

Oriya, Bengalee, Assamese, Maithili, Magahi and Bhojpuri — these six languages of eastern India=are all derived from the Māgadhī Prakrit of easten Uttar Pradesh and Magadha. According to the philologists the Māgadhī speeches of present day fall under three groups :—

1. Western, which includes Bhojpuri and Nagapurīa.
2. Central, which includes Maithili and Māgadhī.
3. Eastern, which consists of Assamese, Bengalee and Oriya.

Oriya language is very much akin to Bengalee and Assamese but Oriya has preserved much more of primitive linguistic characteristics which are not found in Bengalee or Assamese. Dr. Chaterjee opines that of these three speeches i. e. Oriya, Bengalee and Assamese, Oriya has preserved a great many archaic features, in both grammar and pronunciation; and it may be said without travesty of linguistic truth that Oriya is the oldest of these three sisters, when we consider the archaic character of the language.

Dr. Suniti Kumar Chaterjee discussing about the 'Carya Padas' says that the language represents a stage

of speech, which is very much akin to what we would conceive to be old Oriya or old Assamese as much as of old Bengalee,. Dr. J. K. Mishra in his scholarly work '*A History of Maithili Literature*, Vol. I, says that the language of the 'Caryās' is proto-Maithili and has quoted certain typical Maithili words found in 'Caryās.' The words, he has quoted are also to be found in old and modern Oriya language, viz. Aji, Tentali, Bhidi, Sudini, Sasu, Thengi, Bedhila, Harina, Garahaka, Papadi, Changeda, Paitha, Bhanai, Didha, Asa, Duhi, Uthi, Khai, Samaa, and Ekeli etc. Moreover, even a minute's study of the script of the 'Caryā' manuscripts shows that the number of letters tallies completely with the modern Oriya script. The scholars of Orissa like Dr. K.K. Kar, Dr. N. K. Sahu have proved that most of the poets of the 'Caryās' were 'Siddhācāryās' of Oddoyāna or modern Orissa. Considering the history, religious philosophy and philology, they have proved the language of the 'Caryās' to be old Oriya and the poets belonged to Oḍḍiyāna. (2) the famous Tantric Pitha of Orissa where *Mahāyāna Buddhism* was in full swing from 7th to 10th century A. D. Considering the opinion of Dr. Chaterjee I would like to say that alongwith the Mahāyāna Buddhism the earliest specimen of the 'Caryās' prevailed in Orissa, Bengal, Assam, Mithila and Nepal and songs were intellegible to the common folk of these parts.

Through these songs of the 'Caryās' of Sahajiyā Siddhācaryās, Orissa not only had cultural relations with Bengal, Assam and Nepal but also definitely with Mithila and the old Maithili language.

Now let us Consider another work of Maithili

literature, i. e., the *Varṇa Ratnākara* of Jyotirīśvara which has been placed in about 1324 A. D. This beautiful prose work of old Maithili language is a store-house of information of the 14th century social environment of Mithila. From a study of the above work the socio-cultural similarities between Orissa and Mithila are established alongwith the words which are to be found in old Oriya literature of 15th and 16th Centuries A.D.

Dr. Chaterjee discussing the word "Oḍa" in *VR* says, "Oḍa is given in a list of castes or tribes, which are of an evil or a low class, among other low classes of people. It would appear that the Oḍa people, evidently from Orissa, had spread over a considerable part of Northern as well as Southern India as skilled navvies or earth workers and tank makers. In Orissa itself, we have a class of agriculturists known as Oḍa Chasa. It is just likely that the Oḍas were expert irrigationists and agriculturists, who took up specially the vocation of excavating tanks. The skill of the Oriya people in subsequent centuries in erecting huge temples like those at Bhubaneswar, Puri and Konarka is well known. In any case it is from them that the names Orissa and Oḍḍia came into being. (Oḍra-viṣaya, Oḍrissa, Orisa-Orisa.)"

The *VR* mentions the following Tirthas of Orissa, i. e. Daśāśvamedha of Jajpur, Puruṣottama or present Puri and Kapāla Mocana, Śidha Ram and Mallikarjuna, which have also been related as important religious places in *Sarala Mahābhārata* of the 15th Century A.D. In describing country-made clothes, the *VR* mentions the cloth "Sambalpuri", which is nothing but famous Sambalpuri-cotton and silk fabrics of Orissa.

In *VR.* a number of words relating to different castes professions, Official personels, food, dress, garment and utensils are to be found in ancient and present-day Oriya language. The language of *VR.* is old Maithili and very much akin to the 15th century Oriya language of *Sarala Mahābhārata.* Some of the similar words of *VR.* and *SM.* are given as follows:—

Castes:	Tenli=O.Teli; Hadi=O.Hadi; Chamar= O. Chamar; Oḍa= O. Oḍa (Cultivators of Orissa)
Musical Instruments:	Singa=O. Singa; Changu=O. Changu; Kath Tala=O.=Kath Tali; Damru=O. Damru ; Majira=O. Mandira ; Dhak= O. Dhaka;
Messengers :	Aguadi=O. Agiani; Aguali (Pioneer)
Siddhas& Upasiddhas:	The *VR.* describes the Tantric practices, viz. Anjan, Gutika, Paduka, Rasa, Betala, etc., which are profusely described in *SM.*
Ornaments :	Suta=O. Suta; Mesala=O Merhala; Sarala=O. Sarala.
Persons:	Bhandari=O. Bhandari ; Barika =O. Barika ; Mukhia = O. Mukhia; Mandalika= Mandalika; Malla=O. Malla ; Maha malla= O. Mahamalla.
Utensils :	Pidhi= O. Pidhi, Pidha; Thari=O. Thali ; Gadua= O. Gadua; Tathi=O. Tati also Tatia; Tambi= O. Tambi; Ardha = O. Adha; Pula= O. Pala.

Food articles : Chaula = O. Chaula; Khirisa = O. Khirisa; Phena = O. Phena; Phini = O. Pheni; Amritkundi = O. Amrutakunda.

Clothes : The different types of fabrics given in VR. viz., Meghavarṇa = (Meghaudumbar = O. Meghadambaru); Khridaka = (O. Khirodri); Debanga = (O. debanga), Sarbanga, Sambalpari = (O. Sambalpuri) etc. are to be found in the description of Oriya poets.

Measurments : Kata = O. Kada ; Ganda = O. Ganda, Bodi = O. Bodi; Pana = O. Pana, Kahona = O. Kahana; Dedhi = O. Dedhi; Bisav = O. Bisa.

Official personnel : Parida = O. Parida; Paika = O. Paika; Sahani = O. Sahani; Mahatani = O. Mahanty; Chikor = O. Chhokar; Raola = O. Raula; Chauhana = O. Chuhana, Chauhana.

Musical instuments accompanying the army :

Dhaka = O. Dhaka; Dhola = O. Dhola; Tamaki = O. Tamaka; Nisana = O. Nisana; Damama = O. Damama ; Dhamasa = O.Dhamasa (used in Chhau dance in Orissa) ; Mahuari = O. Mahuri.

Musical Notes : Odhaka = O. Odhaka ; Kalasa and Ardha Kalasa = O. Kalasa (may be Kalasa Raga or Kalasa Bani); Bagasari

=O. Bageswari; Chanchaputa chaputa = O. Chanchaputa chaputa (*Sarala Mahābhārata*)

Mountains and Rivers : The names of two small rivers of Orissa have been mentioned in *V R.*, i. e. Chandrabhāgā (Puri District); Debikā = Devī River of Cuttack District. The mountains and Hills of Orissa, viz. Gandhamardan (Keonjhar District.) Rāmagiri (Koraput District) and Kaliṅga Kaliṅga-ghat of Phulabani District, have been mentioned in *VR.*

VR. furnishes a long list of 84 Sahajiya Siddhācaryās and many of the names tally with the names of Siddhācaryās mentioned in old Oriya literature and they are Gorakha, Chaurangi, Birupa, Kanha, Jalandhar, Dongi (O.=Dom bi), Charpati, Dharmapa (O. Dharma Narindra), Mina, Sabar, Vartrihari (O. Vartari in Amarkosa Geeta), Kamala, etc. and many of the Siddhas have also been mentioned in the literature of Oriya Natha- Sahitya. In VR. at page 63, occurs the word 'Odakara', according to some critics, the word 'Oḍa' is from a Dravidian root meaning agriculture.

The famous Vaidya of Orissa "Madhaba Kara" flourished at about the 10th century A.D. and his work Madhabkar Nidan is a popular Vaidya-Śāstra among the Oriya Vaidyas and Yogi or Nātha-Vaidyas. The *VR.* makes a reference of the well known work of

Orissan Physician which was known to the people of Mithila and the neighbouring states.

VR. abounds with archaic words which are to be found in the 15th century literary works of Orissa and some of them are as follows :—

Saruka = O. Saruka and Saru ; Chaupai = O. Chaupoi ; Barda = O. Barada (The palmyra leaves) ; Maradania = O. Marddania (a person expert in massage) ; Dhoti = O. Dhoti ; Anala = O. Anila, Old. O. Anala ; Khalika = O. Khadika; Dela = O. Dela ; Pana = O. Pana ; Sara = O. Sara (earthen plate); Tanka = O. Takia (pillow); Mandla = O. Mandi (Round pillow); Hatha = Old. O. Hatha; The numerical numbers Dua, Tin, Chari, Panch and Chausathi etc. are the same in old Oriya language. Paika, Paika = O. Paika (—Padatika, also padanti in Old O.); Thata = O. Thata (An army); Lagai = O. Lagai; Bajai = O. Bajai; Paika haka = O. Paika haka (The loud tone of Paika).

The formations viz. Byadhakai, Kinnara Kai; Upara kai, Dui Chitra kai noticed in VR. is a special feature of old Oriya language of the 10thc entury A.D. to 15th century A.D. Hundreds of these Kai formations are to be found in old Oriya inscriptions and the Puranic literature of 15th century A.D. of Sarala Das and Balaram Das. While discussing these old Oriya forms Dr. Chaterjee says, 'There are certain forms in the above inscriptions which are very characteristics of Oriya no doubt, but they represent something which we do not find in latter Oriya and they are intermediate forms

linking up the Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa sources of Oriya with the early Oriya literature. Thus we can note forms like the following :

"Naekan-kai, Kila-kai, hatha-rai, which represent a sort of half way house between the earlier Nayakan Kahi, Kila–Kahi, hatha–rahi and later forms in –ke, *and* re. The corresponding Oriya forms now in use is – ku (–kau –kahu in Apabhraṁśa)",

But Dr. Chaterjee's remarks of these forms, which are not found in later Oriya, cannot be accepted as these forms in a larger scale find a place in Oriya *Mahābhārata* of Sarala Das (15th century A.D.) and the *Jagamohana Rāmāyaṇa* of Balaram Das (early 16th century A.D.) and many other poets.

The cultural relation of Orissa and Mithila is a closed book to us. Many interesting features of social and cultural relations of two language–speaking tracts will be revealed through sustained effort of research. Ancient Mithila was known to the people of Orissa as the country of "Tihuti", which is modern Tirhut of Bihar State. I have mentioned that efforts should be made by the historians, litterateurs and linguists for establishing this missing link between Orissa and Mithila. The lyrics of Vidyāpati, Lochan Das and Govinda Das are to be found in large number in Oriya palm-leaf manuscripts along with a number of Brajabuli songs of many a known and unknown poets. Dr. J. K. Mishra's observation in this respect is that Oriya Brajabuli literature is still unexplored, and I think some

efforts should be made in this direction for exploring new materials.

Lastly, I am trying in my humble way to complete the second part of my essay, which will cover the Oriya Brajabuli literature, lyrics of Vidyāpati and its influence on Oriya literature. I think, the discussion of these topics will unfold many a missing link between Mithila and Orissa.

BHARTṚMITRA'S REDUCTION OF VEDANTA TO NATURALISM

SANGAM LAL PANDEY

1. *The date and works of Bhartṛmitra.*

Bhartṛmitra was an exponent of both Mīmāṁsā and Vedānta. His views are described by Kumārila[1] and Maṇḍana.[2] Therefore he flourished before them. Further, Kumārila says that he wrote the *Ślokavārtika* to refute the views of Bhartṛmitra who had interpreted Mīmāṁsā philosophy as naturalism and atheism and that he set it again on the path of spiritualism and theism.[3] Here his reference is obviously to Śabara who was a great theistic philosopher and had refuted all sorts of atheism in his commentary on Jaimini's *Mīmāṁsāsūtra*. Now Śabara does not mention the view of Bhartṛmitra. Therefore Bhartṛmitra is likely to have flourished after Śabara. He opposed the interpretation of Śabara and in all likelihood wrote a commentary on Jaimini's *Mīmāṁsāsūtra*. But Pārthasārathi Miśra suggests that he had written a Vyākhyāna (commentary) on Mīmāṁsā[4] and that by the word Mīmāṁsā he meant

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1. *Ślokavārtika* (Chowkhambha), pp. 4 and 763.
2. *Brahmasiddhi*, Madras, p. 1.
3. *Prāyeṇaiva Mīmāṁsā loke lokāyatīkṛtā| tāmāstikapathe kartumayaṁ yatnaḥ kṛto mayā. Ślokavārtika* 1. 1. 1. 10.
4. *Nanu mīmāṁsāyāśca cirantanāni Bhartṛmitrādiracitāni Vyākhyānāni Vidyante. Nyāyaratnākara*, p. 3.

the *Mīmāṁsā sūtra* of Jaimini. So we can presume that the name of Bhartṛmitra's Mīmāṁsā work was *Mīmāṁsā-Vyākhyāna*. His commentary was so popular during the life-time of Kumārila that it had thrown Śabara's commentary into oblivion. This is the reason why Kumārila accepted his challenge and restored the importance of Śabara's commentary after criticizing the views of Bhartṛmitra. Prof. S. Kuppu Swami Sastri has suggested that Bhartṛmitra was a forerunner of the Prabhākara school of Mīmāṁsā in the ante-Kumārila period.[5] But Mr. N.S. Anantakrishna Sastri contends that if Bhartṛmitra was a founder of that school and if he had commented on Śabara's commentary, then Prabhākara would not have commented on it.[6] Now both Mr. Kappu Swami Sastri and Mr. Anantakrishna Sastri are right provided that we hold that Bhartṛmitra did not write a commentary on Śabara's commentary. Hence our view is that Bhartṛmitra was a forerunner of the Prabhākara School of Mīmāṁsā and that Prabhākara wrote his *Bṛhatī*, the commentary on Śabara's commentary in the light of Bhartṛmitra's V*yākhyāna* on Jaimini's *Mīmāṁsā Sūtra*.

Further, Yāmunācārya counts Bhartṛmitra as a commentator of Bādarāyaṇa's *Brahmasūtra*.[7] Maṇḍana criticizes his view in detail in the Fourth Chapter of his

5. *Proceedings of Second Oriental Conference*, Calcutta, pp. 410-411.
6. *Prabhākaravijaya*, Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad Series, Introduction, pp. 1-4.
7. *Siddhitraya*, Chowkhamba edition, pp, 5-6.

book *Brahmasiddhi.* On the basis of these sources it is inferred that Bhartṛmitra had written a commentary on Bādarāyaṇa's *Brahmasūtra* too and if he had not written it then he must have written another Vedānta work. Anyway, he was a Vedāntin too and his Vedānta must have been very popular during the time of Maṇḍana. Kumārila refuted his Mīmāṁsā Philosophy and Maṇḍana refuted his Vedānta Philosophy. Unfortunately both the works of Bhartṛmitra are lost and we have to depend on the doxographical tradition in order to know his views.

Again as Yāmunācārya counts Bhartṛmitra before Bhartṛhari and after Bhartṛprapañca, so he must have flourished before Bhartṛhari and after Bhartṛprapañca. Bhartṛhari himself states a view which is attributed to Bhartṛmitra,[8] so Bhartṛhari must be later than Bhartṛmitra. Mr. Ramaswami Sastri[9] has suggested the floruit of Bhartṛmitra to be from 300 A. D. to 600 A. D. But this long period can be narrowed down as the date of Bhartṛhari is now fixed as 480 A. D. So Bhartṛmitra lived before 480 A. D. Moreover, Pārthasārathi Miśra says that Bhartṛmitra's *Mīmāṁsāvyākhyāna* was a very old commentary which was refuted by Kūmārila.[10] So he did not flourish immediately before Kumārila but long before him. His date can therefore be fixed as 400 A. D. This will make him senior to Kumārila by at least 150 years.

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8. *Śabda* is produced by wind, *Vākyapadīya*, 1. 107.
9. *Tattvabindu*, Introduction, p. 26.
10 Note the word *Cirantanāni* in the footnote 4 supra.

2. *The Doctrines of Bhartṛmitra.*

The following doctrines of Bhartṛmitra are described by various authors of later times :—

(1) Pārthasārathi Miśra states that according to Bhartṛmitra there is no good or bad result of daily duties (Nityakarma) or prohibited actions (Niṣiddhakarma)[11]. It means that Bhartṛmitra challenged the doctrine of moral desert and believed that nothing is good or bad. According to him, a good action does not necessarily yield a good result, nor does a bad action necessarily generate a bad result. In other words, he refuted the doctrine of obligation in particular and the Dharmaśāstra in general. He upheld the ethical principles of materialists according to whom pleasure (Kāma) and wealth (*artha*) are the only goals of all human activities. He has been called a 'lokāyata' philosopher because he subscribed to the ethical doctrines of the Lokāyata Philosophy. He denied the values of Dharma and Mokṣa and accepted only two Puruṣārthas, *Kāma* and *Artha.*

(2) Kumārila and Pārthasārathi Miśra mention that according to Bhartṛmitra auditory sense is nothing but the impression produced by sound.[12] This doctrine of Bhartṛmitra has two parts; first, there is no auditory sense and, secondly the so-called auditory sense is only the impression produced by sound. Jayanta Bhaṭṭa

11 *Nityaniṣiddhayoriṣṭāniṣṭaphalaṁ nāsti—Nyāyaratnākara*, p. 3.

12. *Atra Bhartṛmitra vadati-naiva śrotraṁ nāma kiñcit, tasya ca dhvanijanyaḥ saṁskāraḥ iti—Nyāyaratnākara*, p. 763.

further explained that according to Bhartṛmitra the auditory sense is the impression produced by wind.[13] This is nothing but explaining the act of hearing in terms of Physicalism. Bhartṛmitra thus did not make a distinction between the auditory sense and the impression received by it. In other words, he accepted only four sense-organs and did not relate the word with ether (*Ākāśa*) on the one hand and with ear on the other hand. It was a peculiar view of Bhartṛmitra. Both Kumarila and Jayanta mock at his pedantic learning and call his doctrine too peculiar and unrealistic to deserve any further refutation. Kumārila, however, says that Bhartṛmitra has simply changed the name of the auditory sense (Śrotra) by the word impression and yet he feels elated in his own minds at having discovered a new theory and that his pride is simply false, because he has not discovered anything new.[14] But this view of Bhartṛmitra has seriously been examined by Bhartṛhari. It seeks to explain the origin of words or sounds. Its shortcoming lies in the fact that it takes only the physical aspect of the production of sounds.

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13. *Tathā ca Bhartṛmitraḥ pavanajanitasaṁskārapakṣo bhavatu.* *Nyāyamañjarī*, p. 213.

See also *Vākyapadīya*, 1. 107 and *Agnipurāṇa* quoted in *Vākyapadīyavṛtti*, p. 187.

14. *Imameva ca saṁskāraṁ śabdagrahaṇakārakam kecit tu paṇḍitam-anyāḥ śrotram ityabhimanvate. Saṁjñasañcāraṇāt caiṣām bahumānaḥ svacetasi. Mudhaiṣāṁ bahumāno yam vastvanupādya kiñcana.* *Ślokavārtika* 1. 1. 6. 130-132.

(3) Mukula Bhaṭṭa attributes a prevalent verse[15] to Bhartṛmitra which states that description or implied meaning (Lakṣaṇā) is fivefold. The implied meaning is (1) in proximity with, or (2) in conformity with, or (3) in relation of inherence with, or (4) in opposition to the denoted meaning or finally (5) it is in connection with the verb that goes with the denoted meaning.

There is a question as to whether Mukula refers to the same person who is referred to by Kumārila and Maṇḍana. This question can be replied in the affirmative because there is nothing in the opinion attributed to Bhartṛmitra by Mukula Bhaṭṭa which can be a bar to this identification. Bhartṛmitra appears to have developed a philosophy of language which accepted only two functions of words-denotation (Abhidhā) and description (Lakṣaṇā). But what is more important in his philosophy of language than this is the fact that he interpreted the Vedic language in terms of the spoken language of the people and did not assign any sacredness and sacrosanctity to the former.

(4) As Ānandapūrṇa[16] says in his commentary on the *Brahmasiddhi* Maṇḍana attributes the denial of Śruti pramāṇa to Bhartṛmitra who posed the following dilemma. If the existence of the self is established by any pramāṇa other than the Śruti, then

15. *Abhidheyena sāmīpyāt sārūpyāt samavāyataḥ| Vaiparītyāt kriyāyogāt lakṣaṇā pañcadhāmatā. Abhidhāmātṛkāvṛtti, Nirnaya Sagar edition* p. 14.

16. *Vyākhye Doe*, Madras, 1963 p. 7

the Śruti merely reiterates it and is superfluous *per se.* Again, if the existence of the self is not established by any pramāṇa, then the Śruti is uninformative *per se* on this point as it can throw little light on the relation that it bears with the self. Now the existence of the self is either established or not established by any Pramāṇa other than the Śruti. Therefore the Śruti is either superfluous *per se* or uninformative *per se.* In either case it is not a pramāṇa at all.[17]

Now this is a constructive dilemma which is perfectly valid if the premises are taken to be valid. This shows that Bhartṛmitra did not accept the Śruti as a pramāṇa. But as Maṇḍana has shown,[18] this dilemma is not valid as its premises are not unquestionable.

3. *An estimate of Bhartṛmitra's Vedānta*

The above-mentioned doctrines of Bhartrmitṛa are sufficient to show that he was a naturalist philosopher and was much influenced by the materialism of Cārvāka philosophy. He specialized in the materialistic psychology of hearing and naturalistic philosophy of language. As his first doctrine indicates, he did not believe in the doctrines of rebirth, transmigration of soul or life beyond death. But then the question arises, why is he called a Mīmāṁsā as well as Vedānta philosopher? We may reply to it by saying that as Bhartṛmitra dealt with the problems of Mīmāṁsa and Vedānta and gave their naturalistic solutions, therefore he was called as a Mīmāṁsā and Vedānta philosopher.

17. *Brahmasiddhi*, p. 1.
18. See *Pre-Śaṁkara Advaita Philosophy*, S. L. Pandey, Allahabad, 1974, pp. 367-372.

He is to be counted among the cultured materialists (Śiṣṭa Cārvākas). In all likelihood he believed that the consciousness is born out of material conditions and dies with the death of the body. But since it is the last and finest development of the human body it becomes the main object of human inquiry. So for him the inquiry into the nature of Brahman is in fact an inquiry into the nature of the embodied self or Śārīraka. The subject-matter of Mīmāṁsā and Vedānta is not a natural object. But Bhartṛmitra applied the principles of naturalism to it. So he must have been credited with an original philosophy. When Kumārila repudiates his claim of originality it means that there was an aura of his originality in the time of Kumārila. Had his works been extant they would have been a great source of inspiration to the modern positivists and materialists who are interpreting the heritage of Indian Philosophy *a la mode de* their own cherished philosophy.

ANCIENT INDIAN PROVINCE IN TIBET, CHINA AND MONGOLIA IDENTIFICATION OF THE ANCIENT LAND OF BHADRAŚVA

SHYAM NARAIN PANDE*

The late S.M. Ali has produced a map entitled "The world of Mahābhārata" (Ali 1966, facing page 32). This map seems some what confusing with reference to the identification of some important verses. It locates Bhadrāśva in the north-west direction of Meru, which seems doubtful. Buddhists have given the name Pubba-Videha to Bhadrāśva, which has been interpreted as situated in north Bihar together with the contiguous parts of the Nepalese Tarai (Sircar 1967, page 41). These two traditions and explanations promoted by Ali and Sircar make the problem of identification of Bhadrāśva intricate.

Dr. Ali advanced two different theories on the map. The *Mahabharata* includes the 'four-island theory,' which is quite separate and older than the 'seven-island theory' developed on the basis of *Purāṇas*. In combination these create confusion and credit goes to Shri Rai Krishna Das of Banaras Hindu University, who has aptly separated them (Agrawala, 1963, page 187).

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Dr. Ali gave a description of Bhadrāśva, which varies from its location as shown on the map. According to him Bhadrāśva was identical with the basins of Tarim and Hwangho, i.e., the whole of Sinkiang and northern China (Ali 1966, page 99). It is now clear that on his map, the error is involved in Bhadrāśva and Uttarakuru. The description of Bhadrāśva leads towards the conclusion that Uttarakuru was shown in place of Bhadrāśva on the map.

So far as the Buddhist concept is concerned, Prof. Sircar seems right only in pointing out the possibility that Pubba-Videha might have been borrowed for the eastern continent of the earth (Sircar 1967, page 42). All other meanings leading towards the identification with north Bihar and Tarai region of Nepal do not fit in with this description of Bhadrāśva. He further quotes from Malalasekar's *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names* (SV Jambūdvīpa), "The Buddhas and Chakravartins are only born in this Jambūdvīpa and Gautam, the Buddha declared that the people of the Jambūdvīpa excel those of Uttarakuru." Accordingly Bhadrāśva cannot be located in north Bihar and Nepal Tarai region. Pubba-Videha has nothing in common with Videha of Bharata or Jambūdvīpa, where Buddha was born. It is an island towards the east of Meru and it is separate from Uttarakuru and Jambūdvīpa. It seems clear that the manner which Jambūdvīpa, the other name of Bhārata, was borrowed to describe the entire known land, was adopted to call Bhadrāśva, 'Videha of the east.' My previous paper published in the journal of the *Ganganath Jha Research Institute*, 1970

(Vol XXVI, part 1-3), and later on in the *selected Papers of the 21st International Geographical Congress*, 1971 (pages 442-44) adds support to my disagreement with the identification as shown by S. M. Ali.

When communication and trade between India and China increased and an Indian colony was established in what is now called Shantung, about seven centuries before christ, the concept of Bhadrāśva must have been broadened already (Jacques 1953, page 58). Knowledge of the western portion of Bhadrāśva as a dvīpa in between the Yarkand River and definitely upper Brahmaputra or Sangpo was the contribution of continental people of the region around Meru. Knowledge of the most eastern later addition was the work of maritime geographers. It was added from east to west. The middle portion of Bhadrāśva must have been difficult to reach. It is probable that the Yangtze at the origin and the Sikiang in the plains were considered as the eastern extension of Sangpo to form the Southern boundary of Bhadrāśva. South China was occupied by man more than a thousand years after he had settled down in north China (Ali 1966, Page 108). Thus the addition in Bhadrāśva must have included some portion o South China with which it appears to have been coming into cultural affinity. India's vast cultural realm towards the Southeast and also extending towards the Mediterranean region must have become the motive force giving impetus for the choice of Jambūdvīpa, the second name of Bhārata, to stand for the whole of the land which previously comprised four dvīpas. Thus

Jambūdvīpa appears in both lists (Sircar 1967, page 41).

Bhadrāśva means 'auspicious horse', a popular religious figure in China (Agrawala, 1963, page 185), where the secular idea that the horse and the sun had origins in the east (Hawper, 1963, page 17) may have gained some religious meaning. Certainly such name as Loyang, white-horse monastery, belonging to the Buddhists, would suggest this possibility.

The Jain tradition records that Bhadrāśva was named after a person (Sircar 1967, page 49). It seems to be the least authentic, as we also find different versions regarding the naming of Bhadrāśva and its geographical position, e.g. Sasa (Ali, 1966, page 33) and Saka in the east of Meru, while Bhadrāśva is separately given a position in the north (Ali, 1966, page 32). All these facts tend to weaken the Jain tradition in identification of Bhadrāśva.

Almost all geographers agree that Meru is the Pamir plateau. Recently Shri U. K. Shukla has identified Meru at a distance of 3 K. M, south from where Mandakini, Alakhnandā and Bhāgīrathī take rise. It is a geographical misunderstanding like that of Kailas conceived as Meru. There are four rivers, which separate the four older islands. Śītoda has been identified with the Yarkand River as the boundary betweed Uttarakuru and Bhadrāśva (Pande, 1970 Volume XXVI parts 1-3 page 733 and 1971, page 443.) On the east of Meru, South of Yarkand, only the Sangpo River flows direct towards the East. The Yangtze on the upper reaches and Sikiang in the plains, conceived

as an extension of Sangpo due to an impassable barrier in the middle, becomes the Southern boundary of Bhadrāśva.

From North to South five other *areas* were newly formed owing to increased knowledge. They created a gap between Uttarakuru–varṣa and Bhāratavarṣa. Leaving the details regarding this we have to concentrate on the point that Bhadrāśva dvīpa entered the new Jambūdvīpa with the changed name of Bhadrāśva-varṣa and a greater area. Its previous position between the Yarkand and Sangpo Rivers was afterwards extended to the yellow sea towards the northeast and included the Hwangho and Yangtze-valley, north of Sikiang towards the southeast.

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बालचरितस्य मूलम्

❋ डॉ॰ परांजपे विनायक शर्मा

संस्कृतसाहित्ये अस्ति खलु भासो नाम 'सरस्वत्याः हासः' इत्यादिभिः वचनैः कालिदासादिभिः महाकविभिरपि संस्तुतः प्रथिततमः कविवरः। प्रतिमादीनां त्रयोदशानां नाटकरत्नानां प्रणेता अयं कविश्रेष्ठः सर्वानिव नाटककारान् अतिशेते। नाटकानां संख्यया एव केवलया न भासः सर्वातिशायी, अपितु नाटकीयस्य वस्तुनः प्रयोगसुलभतया, गतिशीलतया, रसपरिपोषेण, संवादप्रचुरया भाषया, श्लोकानां प्रत्यङ्कमल्पसंख्यया सहजाववोधकरत्वमादिभिः गुणविशेषैरपि। त्रयोदशसु नाटकेषु ऊरुभंगादीनि पञ्च महाभारतकथाम् आश्रयन्ते। प्रतिमादीनि पञ्च तु रामायणकथां अवलम्बन्ते। उदयनकथां चारुदत्तकथां च लोकविश्रुतां अधिकृत्य प्रवृत्तं नाटकद्वयम्। उर्वरितस्य बालचरितस्य मूलगवेषणे सांप्रतं प्रवर्तामहे।

कृष्णचरितं तु रमणीयतमं नैकाद्भुतकथापरिप्लुतं परःसहस्राणि वर्षाणि भावितात्मनां भारतीयानां मनांसि आवर्जयत्येव। उपलभामहे च कृष्णस्य बालचरितं हरिवंश-विष्णु-ब्रह्म-भागवतादिषु महापुराणेषु विस्तरेण उपनिबद्धम्। संक्षेपतस्तु वर्ण्यमानं सकलपुराणसाधारणमेव। भासविरचिते बालचरिते तृतीयादिषु त्रिषु अङ्केषु उपवर्णितः कंसप्रेरितानां पूतनाप्रभृतीनां दुष्टानां संहारः सकलपुराणसाधारणः। नास्ति तत्र गमकं किंचित् बालचरितस्य मूलनिर्धारणोपयुक्तम्। पूतना-शकट-यमलार्जुन-प्रलम्ब-धेनुक-केशि-अरिष्ट-कालियानां विनाशः भासेन महाकविना बाल-चरिते उपनिबद्धः समुपलभ्यत एव सर्वेषु विष्ण्वादिषु महापुराणेषु। भागवते परं वत्स अघ-बक-तृणावर्त-प्रभृतीनां समधिकानां समावेशः कृष्णस्य माहात्म्यपरिवर्धनार्थं इत्यपि स्पष्टमेव।

कंसेन दुरात्मना अक्रूरं दूतं संप्रेष्य धनुर्महार्थं रामकृष्णयोः आमन्त्रणं, कपटं ज्ञात्वाऽपि कंसस्य निमन्त्रणं स्वीकृत्य मथुरां प्रविशद्भ्यां रामकृष्णाभ्यां रजकाद् अपहारः महार्घाणां वस्त्राणां, मालाकारात् पुष्पमाला-स्वीकारः, कुब्जायाः विलेपन-

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ग्रहणं, कुवलयापीडस्य मत्तस्य गजस्य विनाशः, चाणूरमुष्टिकाभ्यां मल्लाभ्यां युद्ध, अन्ततः भगवता श्रीकृष्णेन संपादितः कंसवधः, उग्रसेनस्य च सिंहासनाधिरोपणं सर्वेषु महापुराणेषु एकरूमेव । विष्णुपुराणे भागवते च अन्ध्र-तोशलक-शल-प्रभृतीनां कृष्णकृतः संहारोऽधिकः परिदृश्यते ।

नाटकस्य बालचरितस्य द्वितीये अङ्के समुपवर्णितः मातङ्गीप्रार्थनारूपः प्रसङ्गस्तु कविना प्रतिभानिर्मितः इत्येव मन्तव्यं भवति । कार्त्या (त्या ?) यन्याः कुण्डोदर-नील-शूल-मनोजवसहितायाः प्रवेशः बालचरितगतः पुराणेषु उपवर्णितां निद्रां देवीं आश्रित्य प्रवर्तते इति परिल्कपने तु न स्यात् कस्यापि सहृदयस्य विप्रतिपत्तिः । प्रथमेऽङ्के भासेन उपनिबद्धः गरुड-कौमोदकी-नन्दक-शंख-चक्राणां प्रवेशः पुराणेषु उपवेशितां देवानामंशांशावतारतामवलम्बते इति वक्तुं सुशकम् । एवं च बाल-चरितस्य मूलनिर्धारणे प्रथमाङ्कगतः कथांशः एव उपयोक्तुं शक्यते इति सुनिश्चितम् ।

'तव स्वसुः देवक्याः पुत्र एव तव वधं संपादयेत्' इत्येवंरूपः कंसस्य प्रतिबोधः नारदकृतः सकलपुराण-साधारणः । अथापि तस्य स्वरूपमेव मूलनिर्धारणे निश्चितं साधनं भवति । तदेव प्रदर्शयितुं प्रवर्तामहे । ब्रह्म-विष्णु-भागवतेषु विवाहोत्तरं स्नेहातिशयेन वसुदेवेन नवपरिणीतां देवकीं पतिगृहं प्रापयन्तं कंसमशरीरिणी वाग् बोधयति देवकीपुत्रेण संपाद्यमानं विनाशम् । सपदि खड्गमाकृष्य भगिनीं हन्तुं प्रवृत्तं कंसं महामनाः वसुदेवः पुत्रार्पणं प्रतिज्ञाय निवर्तयति । प्रतिज्ञानुसारं च जातमात्रं प्रथमं सुतं समर्पयति वसुदेवे, अनुकम्पया अर्भकं वसुदेवं प्रत्यर्पयितुं प्रवृत्तस्य कंसस्य 'राजन् मौर्ख्यं मा कुरु, भागिनेयः एव त्वां हन्ता इति जानीहि' इति उपदिशति नारदः ।

हरिवंशे तावत् "ब्रह्मलोकाद् आगतः नारदः कंसमुपगम्य एकान्ते देवरहस्यं प्रकाशयति" इति वर्णनं समुपलभ्यते । भासस्य बालचरिते अपि नारदस्य प्रवेशः "अहं गगनसञ्चारी त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुतः । ब्रह्मलोकादिह प्राप्तो नारदः कलहप्रियः" (बाल. १.३.) अनेन श्लोकेन भवति । श्लोके अस्मिन् भासेन वर्णितं नारदस्य कलहप्रियत्वमपि हरिवंशे ।

स तु केलिकिलो विप्रो भेदशीलश्च नारदः ।
सुश्लिष्टानपि लोकेऽस्मिन् भेदयँल्लभते रतिम् । हरिवंशे (२.१.३१.)

इत्यादिषु श्लोकेषु स्पष्टमेव उल्लिखितं वर्तते । नारदस्य वचनं श्रुत्वा हरिवंशे या कंसस्य दर्पोक्तिः

श्रूयतां येन दैवं हि मद्विधैः प्रतिहन्यते । हरिवंशे (२.२.६.)

मन्त्रग्रामैः सुविहितैः औषधैश्च सुयोजितैः ।
यत्नेन चानुकूलेन दैवमप्यनुलोम्यते । हरिवंशे (२.२.७.)

इत्यत्र प्रतीयते । तामेव दर्पोक्तिमाश्रित्य भासेन बालचरिते 'दैवं पुरुषकारेण वञ्चयिष्याम्यहं ध्रुवम्' (बालचरिते २.१४) इत्यत्र कंसस्य सावलेपं वचनं प्रयुक्तम् इति प्रतिपादने नास्ति कोऽपि प्रत्यवायः । विष्णुपुराणादिषु सर्वेषु महापुराणेषु वसुदेवस्य निगडबन्धः निर्दिष्टः हरिवंशे नास्ति । प्रत्युत कंसः वसुदेवं देवकीं च स्वगृहे स्थातुं अनुजानाति । बालचरिते अपि नास्ति निगडबन्धादीनां निर्देशः इत्यपि गमकं हरिवंशमूलत्वस्य इति शक्यं वक्तुम् । एवं च बालचरितस्य प्रथमाङ्कगतायाः कथायाः स्वरूपं, तत्रत्याः केचन विशिष्टाः शब्दप्रयोगाश्च तस्य हरिवंशमूलतां सुस्पष्टं बोधयन्ति ।

प्रसिद्धायाः कथायाः अंशतः परिवर्तनम् समुचितायाः कथावस्तुनः मूलकथायाः अविरोधेन तासां समावेशः रसिकैः साहित्यशास्त्रकारैः च अनुमन्यते एव । हरिवंशे अनुपलभ्यमानानां भासेन नूतनतया बालचरिते नाटके समावेशितानां कथांशानां संक्षेपेण स्वरूपं संप्रति प्रदर्शयामः ।

जन्मकाले हरिवंशे उपवर्णितं भगवतः कृष्णस्य चतुर्भुजत्वं कौस्तुभादिधारित्वं च भासेन सर्वथा दूरीकृतम् । प्रदर्शितं सकलजनसाधारणं मानुषं रूपमेव देवकीपुत्रस्य । अथापि प्रसवकाले सगर्जनं वृष्टिः, शीतवायुः, मनःप्रसादः इत्यादिभिः शुभैः निमित्तैः महापुरुषत्वं ईश्वरावतारत्वं च सूचितमेव भासेनापि बालचरिते । वसुदेवः बालं वहन् तस्य मन्दरगुरुत्वं अनुभवन् दिव्यत्वमनुभवति, नन्दगोपः अपि तमेव अनुभवं वर्णयन् दृढीकरोति इति भासस्य प्रतिभायाः एव आविष्कारः ।

वर्षासु प्रवृद्धां यमुनां कृष्णचरणस्पर्शेन द्विधा भवन्तीं अनुपवर्ण्य स्वभावत एव गभीरजलां यमुनां प्राप्तस्य वसुदेवस्य बाहुभ्यामेव नदीं तर्तुकामस्य यमुनया दीयमानः मार्गः एव बालस्य दिव्यत्वसाधकः भासेन उपवर्णितः । वसुदेवेन राजाज्ञया 'नन्दगोपस्य निगडबन्धनं' कशाप्रहारं च, नूतनं परिकल्प्य अपकृतस्य पुरुषस्य साहाय्ययाचनाप्रसङ्गः वसुदेवस्य मनसि बालस्य नन्दगोपाय समर्पणसमये भावनासंघर्षमुत्पादयति इति भासस्य संविधानचातुरी एव ।

यमुनायाः परतीरं प्राप्य अपररात्रे संशयेन गोपजनप्रहारभयात् गोकुलं प्रवेष्टुमनिच्छतः वसुदेवस्य, स्वयमेव नन्दगोपः जातमृतां यशोदया प्रसूतां बालिकां गृहीत्वा एकाकी गोपानां परदिने प्रवर्तमाने महोत्सवे विघ्नो मास्तु इति विचारेण यमुनातीरमागच्छन् दृष्टिपथमायाति इति प्रदर्शने भासस्य नाट्यकौशलमेव स्फुटीभवति ।

श्मशानमागच्छता नन्दगोपेन बालां उद्दिश्य कृतः विलापः, वसुदेवं अवलोक्य तस्य मनसि समुत्पन्ना भीतिः, नन्दगोपस्य विलापं श्रुत्वा भयकम्पितस्य वसुदेवस्य मनसि स्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञानानन्तरं जायमानः परितोषः, अन्ततश्च परस्परं परिचयः सर्वथा रसिकानां आनन्दावह एव निश्चप्रचम्। मृतां बालिकां श्मशानमानीय अपि तां वियोक्तुं न इच्छति नन्दगोपः इत्ययमंशस्तु कस्य वा सहृदयस्य मनसि पूर्वानुभूतं प्रसंगं न उपस्थापयेत्। वसुदेवेन न्यास इति परिसंवर्धनाय दीयमानं पुत्रं कंसभयात् स्वीकर्तुमनिच्छन्तं नन्दगोपमवलोकयतः सामाजिकस्य चेतसि क्रूरस्य नृपतेः निर्घृणत्वं कथं न परिस्फुरेत्? समनन्तरं च "मया कृतस्य उपकारस्य अयं प्राप्तः समुचितः प्रत्युपकारावसरः" इति वसुदेवेन उच्चारिते च वाक्ये बालं स्वीकर्तुं प्रवृत्तस्य मनसि अशुचित्वभावना, यमुनां गत्वा शुद्धो भवामि इति विचारश्च समुद्भवति। अत्रान्तरे वसुदेवः गोपानां सर्वदा शुचित्वं प्रतिपादयति, गोपांसुभिरेव वा संपादयितुं शक्यते शुद्धिः गोपैः इति च बोधयति। अथापि यमुनां गन्तुं प्रवृत्ते नन्दे सपदि तत्पादयोः समीपे एव शुद्धजलधारायाः समुद्गमः भासेन उपवर्णितः रमणीयतमः।

आत्मनः शुचित्वं संपाद्य बालकं ग्रहीतुं हस्तौ प्रसार्य स्थितस्य नन्दस्य मन्दरगुरुत्वात् असामर्थ्यप्रकटनं, वसुदेवकृतां स्तुतिं समाकर्ण्य च आत्मबलस्मरणेन बालस्वीकारः, सानन्दं व्रजं प्रति निर्गमनं सर्वं एवायं संविधानविशेषः अत्यन्तं हृदयावर्जकः लोकव्यवहारानुगुणः इत्यत्र नास्ति संशयलेशोऽपि।

कालियमर्दनसमये तस्य भोगे नृत्यं कुर्वाणः बालकृष्णः तीरवृक्षस्थितानि विषभयात् न केनापि दीर्घकालं अवचितानि कुसुमानि आदत्ते; पुलिनमागत्य च कालियदमनं स्तुवतीभ्यः गोपकन्यकाभ्यः प्रयच्छति इति समुपवर्णयन् भासः आत्मनः सूक्ष्मेक्षिकां दर्शयति इति वर्ण्यमाने कस्य वा विप्रतिपत्तिः स्यात्।

एवं च महाकवेः भासस्य बालचरितस्य मूलं भवितुमर्हति हरिवंश एव। तत्रापि भासेन रसपरिपोषाय केचन अंशाः सन्ति परिवर्तिताः, अपरे केचन तु प्रतिभया निर्माय स्थापिताः सन्ति। विष्णु-ब्रह्म-भागवतादिषु महापुराणेषु उपलभ्यमानं बालचरितं तु तैः तैः पुराणकारैः विष्णुदेवतामाहात्म्यपरिवर्धनपरैः नैकाभिः कथाभिः समुपबृंहितम्।

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संदर्भ :—

हरिवंशः, चित्रशाला प्रेस, पुणें, अध्यायाः विष्णपर्वणि १-३० पृ. १५७-२२७
विष्णुपुराणम्, गीताप्रेस, गोरखपुर.

अध्यायाः १८०-१९३- पृ. ३७१-४३२

ब्रह्मपुराणम्, आनन्दाश्रम, पुणें, अध्यायाः १८१-१९२ पृ. ४२६-४५२
भागवतम्, गीताप्रेस, गोरखपूर, २ खंडः, दशमस्कन्धः, अध्यायाः, १-४४.

पृ. ११३-३९४

बालचरितम्, भासनाटकचक्रम्, ओरिएण्टल एजन्सी, पुणें

पृ. ५११-५५७

लज्जा—एकं विश्लेषणम्

जगन्नाथ पाठकः

मन्दाक्षं, ह्रीः, त्रपा, व्रीडा इति लज्जायाः पर्यायत्वेनामरकोशगताः शब्दा उपलभ्यन्ते, परमिमे समानार्थकत्वव्यञ्जने न तथा समर्थाः। व्यञ्जनादृष्ट्या प्रत्येकमेव शब्दः स्वतन्त्रतया स्वं विशिष्टमर्थं ध्वनतीति वाग्वैदग्ध्यविदः सहृदयाः प्रमाणम्। कोषकाराः बहुशः समानार्थकान् एव शब्दान् पर्यायतया प्रयुञ्जत इति सीमः तेषाम्। एवमेव धातूनामर्थनिर्देशे प्रवृत्ताः प्राञ्चोऽपि पर्यायशब्दानेव निर्दिशन्ति। यथा प्रकृते 'ह्री' लज्जायामिति, 'त्रपूष्' लज्जायामिति, 'व्रीड' लज्जायामिति। 'ओलस्जी व्रीडने' इत्यत्रागतिकत्वादेव तैरन्यन्न निर्दिष्टम्। परं शब्दानां व्यञ्जनायां सततं जागरूकतां बिभ्रद्भिः सुकविभिर्योषितां भूषाया निर्देशावसरे लज्जाया एव बाहुल्येन प्रयोगः कृतः। यथा,

'अन्यदा भूषणं पुंसां क्षमा लज्जेव योषितः[1]'

इति माघः। सहृदयचक्रवर्तीत्युपाधिना श्रीमदाचार्याभिनवेनोद्घोषिता ध्वनिकृदानन्दवर्धना अपि—

"मुख्या महाकविगिरामलङ्कृतिभृतामपि।
प्रतीयमानच्छायैषा भूषा लज्जेव योषिताम्॥"[2]

इत्यभिदधाना लज्जामेव गृह्णन्ति।

कथञ्चिन्नाम यदि किञ्चिदन्तः प्रविश्य चिन्त्यते तदा लज्जायाः क्रमशो व्यज्यमानाः सहृदयतामात्रगम्या विविधा अर्था हृदि परिस्फुरन्तीव। परं न तथा ह्रीशब्देन वा मन्दाक्षशब्देन वा त्रपाशब्देन वा व्रीडाशब्देन वा ते तेऽर्थाः प्रतीतिपथमायान्ति। अत्र हेतुरधिकप्रसिद्धिः प्रचलनमपि वा स्यात्।

लज्जा हि चित्तधर्मेष्वन्यतमः सङ्कोचविशेषं रोधविशेषं वाऽऽपादयन् भावपदवाच्यः। कविभिर्नायिकायाः सौन्दर्यवर्णनप्रस्तावे लज्जाया व्यञ्जनेऽवहितैः स्थीयते। कालिदासश्चात्र नः प्रमाणम्। कुमारसम्भवे (तृतीयसर्गे) वसन्तपुष्पा-

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१. शिशु० २।४४; २. ध्वन्या० ३।३७

मरणं वहन्त्या देव्या ताम्ररुचा करेण मन्दाकिनीपुष्करबीजमालायाः समर्पणक्षणे किञ्चित् परिवृत्तधैर्येण च शम्भुना बिम्बफलाधरोष्ठे पार्वत्या मुखे विलोचनानां व्यापारणक्षणे च रसभावविदा कविना लज्जाया उदयस्य रमणीयं व्यञ्जनं 'पर्यस्तविलोचनेन मुखेन साचीकृता तस्थावि'त्यभिदधता, कृतम् । 'ह्रिया मुखं साचीकृत्य स्थितेति' मल्लिनाथः । एवमेव, 'शैलाधिराजतनया न ययौ न तस्थावि'[1]-त्यत्र लज्जायाः सुसङ्गतं व्यञ्जनं कृतम् । 'लज्जयेति भावः' इति मल्लिनाथः ।

कालिदासस्य प्रधाननायिका विशेषेण 'लज्जावत्यः' सन्ति । इन्दुमत्या विशेषणं 'लज्जावती'ति[2] निर्दिष्टम् । सैवेन्दुमती रघोर्वरणप्रसङ्गे मनसि स्वभावतो जायमानां 'लज्जां तनूकृत्य'[3] प्रवर्तते । कालिदासस्य पार्वती 'नवपरिणयलज्जाभूषणामि'ति[4] वर्णिता । अन्यत्रापि सा 'लज्जमानामरुन्धती'ति'[5] 'कानि कानि न चकार लज्जया[6] इत्यादिभिर्लज्जालङ्कृता निर्दिष्टा । ह्रीशब्दोऽपि बहुधा लज्जामेव समतुल्यतया प्रकाशयन् प्रयुक्तः । परमभिभवप्रसङ्गेऽपराधानुभवकाले चासौ प्रयुज्यते कालिदासेन— 'रतेरपि ह्रीपदमादधानाम्'[7] 'ह्रीमानभूद् भूमिधरो हरेण[8]' । एकत्र लज्जाऽप्यपराधानुभवजा निर्दिष्टा—'जहार लज्जां भरतस्य मातुः'[9] ।

एवमन्यैरपि कविभिर्नार्या वर्णनप्रस्तावे लज्जागुणस्य निर्देशः कृतः—'यां यां प्रियां प्रैक्षत कातराक्षी सा सा ह्रिया नम्रमुखी बभूव'[10] इति माघः ।

भारतीयनार्याः सौन्दर्यं तस्या लज्जागुणेन न केवलं प्रगुणितमिव संजायते ऽपितु परिपूर्णतामपि बिभर्त्ति । वस्तुतो लज्जा हि जीवनं नारीसौन्दर्यस्येति शक्यते वक्तुम् । यदत्र ध्वनिकृद्भिराचार्यवर्यैः प्रतीयमानच्छायाया औपम्यं योषितां लज्जागुणं स्मारयता प्रदत्तं तदत्र किञ्चिदन्तःप्रवेशपूर्वको विचारोऽभिनवगुप्ताचार्यदृष्ट्या प्रस्तोतुं शक्यते ।

उपरि निर्दिष्टायां कारिकायां 'लोचनं' वर्तते—'प्रतीयमानकृता छाया शोभा, सा च लज्जासदृशी, गोपनासारसौन्दर्यप्राणत्वात् । अलङ्कारधारिणीनामपि नायिकानां लज्जा मुख्यं भूषणम् । प्रतीयमाना छाया अन्तर्मदनोद्भेदजसौन्दर्यरूपा यया । लज्जा हि अन्तरुद्भिन्नमान्मथविकारजुगोपयिषारूपा मदनविजृम्भैव । वीतरागाणां यतीनां कौपीनापसारणेऽपि त्रपाकलङ्कादर्शनात् ।'

१. कुमा० ५।; २. रघु० ७।२५; ३. तत्रैव ६।८०; ४. कुमा० ७।९५;; ५. तत्रैव ६।९१; ६. तत्रैव ८।११; ७. तत्रैव ३।५७; ८. तत्रैव ७।५४; ९. रघु० १४।१६; १०. शिशु० ३।१६;

अत्र गोपनासारसौन्दर्यरूपाऽथवा मान्मथविकारजुगोपयिषारूपा मदनविजृम्भैव लज्जा निर्दिष्टा । अन्ते तेनैव व्याख्यातम्—

शृङ्गारतरङ्गिणी हि लज्जावरुद्धा तांस्तान् विलासान् नेत्रगात्रविकार-परम्परारूपान् प्रसूत इति गोपनासारसौन्दर्यलज्जाविजृम्भितमेतदिति भावः ।

वनवासप्रयाणकाले[1] ग्रामवधूभिः सहवर्तिनोः श्यामगौरकिशोरयोः परिचयं पृष्टा बालमृगनयना सीता किञ्चित् सङ्कोचपरिगता 'गौरवर्णो युवा लक्ष्मणो मे देवर' इति कथानान्तरं वस्त्राञ्चलेन मुखचन्द्रमावृत्य निर्वचना यच्च सभ्रूभङ्गं प्रियमवलोकितवती तत्खलु सुमधुरं लज्जाभावविलसितम् । यच्च खलु कुलाङ्गनानां नयनयोरपाङ्गावधि गतागतं, अधरविश्रान्तिशील स्मित, प्रियतमश्रुतेरतिथिमात्रं वचः, कदाचिदुत्पद्यमानोऽपि कोपो मनस्येव मज्जनशीलः[2] तत्सर्वमिदमृते लज्जायाः कस्य विलसितमिति ?

यच्च नायिकया गीतध्वनिषु समाकर्ण्यमानेषु मृग्येवाङ्गानां शिथिलीकरणं, यच्च कान्तविषयकमुदन्तं श्रोतुं सखीं प्रति भूयोभूयः प्रश्नकरणम्, यच्च वीतनिद्रं यापनं तत्सर्वमपि लज्जाभिधानायां प्रणयलतिकायां मनसिजेन सेचनक्रम एव, नान्यत्, यथा च हर्षचरिते युवानं दधीचं प्रति सरस्वत्यास्तस्य 'स्मृत्वा च रूपसम्पदं पुनः पुनर्व्यस्मयत हृदयम्, भूयोऽपि चक्षुराचकाङ्क्ष तद्दर्शनम्, अवशेव केनाप्यनीयत तामेव दिशं दृष्टिः, अप्रतिहतमपि मनस्तेनैव सार्धमगात् अजायत च नवपल्लव इव बाललतायाः कुतोऽप्यस्या अनुरागश्चेतसीत्यादि । एवं कादम्बर्यामपि चन्द्रापीडस्य प्रथमदर्शनावसरे कादम्बर्या 'लज्जैव वचनावसरं न ददावि'ति लिखति कविः । कुमारसम्भवे च—

'एवं वादिनि देवर्षौ पार्श्वे पितुरधोमुखी ।
लीलाकमलपत्राणि गणयामास पार्वती ॥'[3]

इत्यत्राचार्याभिनवगुप्तो लोचनव्याख्याने निर्दिष्टवान्—

'इह तु पद्मदलगणनमधोमुखत्वञ्चान्यथाऽपि कुमारीणां सम्भाव्यते इति झटिति न लज्जायां विश्रमयति हृदयम्, अपि तु प्रवृत्ततपश्चर्यादिवृत्तान्तानुस्मरणेन तत्र प्रतिपत्तिं करोतीति क्रमव्यङ्ग्यतैव ।

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१. गो० तुलसीदासकृते रामचरितमानसे, अयोध्याकाण्डे;

२. भानुदत्तस्य रसमञ्जर्याम्,

३. कुमा० ६।८४;

'लज्जायाः प्राणत्वमि'ति निर्दिशताऽभिनवाचार्येण कस्यापि पद्यमिदमुद्धृतम्-

'नखं नखाग्रेण विघट्टयन्ती विवर्तयन्ती वलयं विलोलम् ।
आमन्द्रमाशिञ्जितनूपुरेण पादेन मन्दं भुवमालिखन्ती ।।'

अत्र लज्जायामुदीयमानायां ये येऽनुभावाः सम्भवन्ति कविना त एव नायिकायां निर्दिष्टाः । शृङ्गाररसतरङ्गिण्याः सञ्जाते कथञ्चन लज्जाभावकृते रोधे नायिकाया अङ्गेषु सहृदयमनोहारिण्यो जायन्ते स्वभावत एवंविधाः क्रियाकलापाः ।[1]

एवञ्च ध्वनिकृतां मतेन यदत्र योषिति लज्जाया इव कवितायां प्रतीयमानच्छायाया भूषात्वव्यवस्थापनं तद् हि तेषां सूक्ष्मेक्षिकाविलसितमिति नः प्रतिभाति ।

१. सौन्दर्यस्य (विशेषेण नारीगतस्य भारतीयसौन्दर्यस्य) रहस्यभूतं लज्जेति प्रकृतपरिकल्पने लज्जापरपर्यायो ह्रीशब्दः सर्वथा श्रीशब्दाभिन्नत्वात् (स-ह्योर्भाषाविज्ञानदृष्ट्याऽभिन्नत्वं सुविदितमेव) शोभारूपा ह्रीः (लज्जा) कदाचित् शोभैव स्यादिति विचारयितुं प्रवर्तयति नः ।

ON THE ATHARVAVEDA ŚAUNAKA

XX. 135.7*

HUKAM CHAND PATYAL

O. The purpose of this paper is to examine critically the *Atharvaveda Śaunaka* (=*AVŚ*) XX.135. 7, and also the other occurrences of the same verse found in the other Vedic texts.

O.1 This verse comes under the socalled *Kuntāpa*-hymns of *AVŚ*. The *Kuntāpa*-hymns (*AVŚ* XX. 127-136) in the manuscripts are designated as *Kuntāpasūktāni*, being introduced and concluded by the expressions : *aṭha kuntāpasūktāni* and : *iti kuntāpasūktāni samāptāni*. They are wanting in *AVP*. According to Sāyaṇa at *AB* VI.32.1; 33.1 the firṣt thirty stanzas, i. e., *AVŚ* XX.127 and 128, are to be called as the *Kuntāpa*-hymns, but the whole collection also appears in his view as a supplementary book (khila) with the name *Kuntāpa*[1]. This seems also to be the view of the Vait. XXXII.19,

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*My thanks are due to Professor Dr. F. B. J. Kuiper of Leiden for his drawing my attention towards Caland's paper which appeared in *ZDMG* 72 (1918),pp. 1—3, especially see pp. 24—5.

1. See, e.g., Keith, *Rig-Veda Brahmanas*, p. 283, f.n.1; Haug, *Aitareya Brahmanam of the Rigveda*, Vol. II, p. 430, f.n. 13 ; Bloomfield, *Atharva-Veda and Gopatha-Brahmaṇa*, 62—3, pp. 95–7.

which assigns the name Kuntāpa to the first two hymns, and employs the designations Aitaśapralāpa, etc. for the following hymns (XXXII.20 ff.).

0.2 The verses, *AVŚ* XX. 135. 6-10, are designated by *AB* (VI.34), *GB* (II.6.14) as the Devanītha, whereas by *KB* (XXX.6), *Śāṅ ŚŚ* (XII.19. 1-5) as the *Ādityāṅgirasyaḥ*[2]. The subject seems to be an interesting Ākhyāna. According to this Ākhyāna the Aṅgirases, ordinarily hostile towards the Ādityas, once helped them at a Soma-sacrifice. As a result of that the Ādityas gave to the Aṅgirases 'white horse' the sun as Dakṣiṇā. The Devanītha, therefore, appears to be a divine *dānastuti*.

0. 3 These Kuntāpa-hymns are to be recited by the Brāhmaṇācchaṁsin[3], the assistant of the Brahman-priest, at the *śastras* and *stotras* of the Soma-sacrifices. These are recited by him after he has finished the Vṛṣākapi. In the Devanītha (*AVŚ* XX.135.6-10) the response is in the first *pāda* of each verse at the Gavāmayana; this is : *oṁ ha jaritar othāmo daiva*[4]. Haug[5]

2. See, e.g., Bloomfield *op. cit.*, Section 63, p. 99; Griffith, *The Hymns of the Atharva-Veda*, Vol. II, p. 442, f.n.
3. See *AB*, VI. 29 ; *KB*, XXX. 5 ; cf *GB* II. 6. 12.
4. See Somāditya on *Vait.* XXIX. 32 (Visva Bandhu's edition, p. 160).
5. *Op. cit.*, p. 442, f.n. For the detailed study of the Khilas in particular and the Kuntāpa-hymns in general the readers may refer to I. Scheftelowitz, *Die Apokryphen des Ṛgveda*, Inhalt ; C.G. Kashikar, *RV* (edition of the Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala, Poona), pt. IV, Preface to the Khilas, p. 891 ff.

strongly holds that "These Kuntāpa songs do not bear a strictly religious character; they are praise songs principally referring to Dakṣiṇā and belong to that class of ancient poetry which bears the name Narāśaṁsī."

1. O Variant readings of the verse :

Now, let us record below *pāda*-wise the variant readings of this verse, if any, which are found in the editions of *AVŚ* as well as in the other Vedic texts.

1. 01 *pāda* a[6] :

tāṁ ha jaritar ná pràty agṛbhṇaṁs [edition of Roth-Whitney (=R-W) of *AVŚ*-]. The editions of Pandit (=P), Vishva Bandhu (=VB) and Satavalekar (=S) read : *tāṁ ha jaritar naḥ práty agṛbhṇaṁs.....* The *RV Kh* V.20.2; *AB* VI.35.8; *Śāṅ ŚS* XII.19.1 e follow the reading of R-W, whereas *GB* II.6.14 follows the reading of P, VB and S. *JB* II,116 (Caland's text as well as the text by Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra) reads: *taṁ ha jaritar na praty agṛbhṇaṁs...*[7]

1. O2 *Pāda* b[8] :

tām u ha jaritaḥ naḥ pràty agṛbhṇan. (edition of R—W). The edition of P, VB and S read : *tām ù na jaritar naḥ praty agṛbhṇah.* The *RV Kh* V.20.2; *AB* VI.35.9;

6. For citations, see Bloomfield, *Ved. Conc.*, p. 421a.
7. Surprisingly enough, Bloomfield in his *Ved. Conc.*, p. 421 a, has not recorded the reading of *GB* (Mitra's edition),which reads: *Jaritar naḥ* instead of *Jaritar na.* He has also not recorded the reading of JB, which he ought to have recorded separately under *taṁ ha...* Except *AVŚ* the other texts even including *RV Kh* do not bear any accent mark so far as this verse is concerned.
8. For citations, see *Ved. Conc.*, p. 425 b.

Śāṅ ŚS XII. 19.1 f follow R — W's edition of *AVŚ*. *GB* II.6.14 follows the editions of P, VB and S, but differs in the reading : *praty agṛbhṇan* instead of *praty agṛbhṇaḥ* of these editions. *JB* II.116 (Caland's text as well as the text by Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra) reads *tām u ha jaritaḥ praty agṛhṇan*. This reading is in accord with R-W's edition, the only difference being that *JB* reads *agṛhṇan* for *agṛbhṇan* of this edition.

1. *O3* *Pāda* c[9] :

áhā néta sánn avicetanāni.... (edition of R-W). The editions of P, VB and S read: *àhānetarasaṁ na vì cetánāni*... The *RV Kh* V.20.2; *AB* VI.35.10 follow R-W's edition. *GB* II.6.14 follows the editions of P, VB and S. *Śāṅ ŚS* XII.19.2a reads: *ahā deta (?) sann avicetanāni*. Cf. *JB* II.116, which reads · *ahā ned asann apurogavāṇi*....

1. *O4* *Pāda* d[10] :

jájñā néta sànn àpurogavāsaḥ (edition of R-W). The editions of P, VB and S read : *yajñānétarasaṁ na pùrogávāmaḥ*. The *RV Kh* V.20.2; *AB* VI.35.11 follow R–W. *GB* II.6-14 reads: *yajñā netarasaṁ na purogavāsaḥ*, this reading follows the editions of P, VB and S, the only difference being that it reads *purogavāsaḥ* for-*vāmaḥ* of these editions. *Śāṅ ŚS* XII.19.2 has: *yajñā deta* (?) *sann apurogavāsaḥ*. (Cf. JB II.116, which reads : *yajñā ned asann avicetanāsaḥ*).

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9. For citations, see *ibid.*, p. 150 b.

10. For citations, see *ibid.*, p. 372 b for *jajñā neta* etc., and p. 735a for *yajñā deta*.

2.0 Now, let us discuss the variant readings of each *Pāda* separately.

2.1 *Pāda* a :

It is quite obvious from 1.01 (of this paper) that we come across two types of readings; the one being *jaritar na*, and the other one *jaritar naḥ*[11]. In order to understand the verse properly it is essential to give the summary of the Ākhyāna. According to this Ākhyāna the Aṅgirases were hostile and different towards the Ādityas, but they once helped the Ādityas at a Soma-sacrifice. As a reward they gave to these Aṅgirases the earth (full of riches), but they (the Aṅgirases) declined to accept it, then they (the Ādityas) gave the 'white horse', the sun, that was accepted by those Aṅgirases.

If we accept...*jaritar naḥ* as the right reading then this *Pāda* could mean "O singer, they (the Aṅgirases) did accept this (earth) belonging to us". However, this would go against the context, because according to this Ākhyāna they did not accept this earth as *dakṣiṇā*. On the other hand, if we accept the reading...*jaritar na*... as the right one, in that case we can easily overcome the difficulty, moreover, that would also support the context of the Ākhyāna.

11. It may, however, be noted that S in his edition of *AVŚ* follows the editions of P and VB, whereas in his book *Atharvaveda kā subodha bhāṣya*, Pāraḍī, 1960, p. 149, he follows the edition of R-W, the difference being that in *pāda* a, he reads : ... *jaritar na pratyāyan* instead of *jaritar na praty agṛbhṇan*. There is no translation on this hymn by S.

By taking it, as the right reading, we can easily render this *Pāda* as: "O singer, they (the Aṅgirases) did not accept it (the earth)".

2.2. *Pāda* b :

For the variant readings of this *Pāda* 1.02 (of this paper) may be referred to. This *Pāda*, too, has variant readings...*jaritaḥ praty agṛbhṇan* (edition of R-W) and ...*jaritar naḥ praty agṛbhṇaḥ* (the editions of P, VB and S). *GB* (II.6.14) has the same readings as these latter editions of *AVŚ*, but differs in the reading *agṛbhṇan* instead of *agṛbhṇaḥ* of these editions.

The reading of the latter editions of AVŚ causes a pretty puzzle to an interpreter. The change of person from third per. pl. to second per. sg. in *praty agṛbhṇaḥ* is inexplicable in this *Pāda* of the verse. According to the context of the Ākhyāna we would expect a finite verbal form in third per. pl., for those Aṅgirases 'did accept' the yonder (sun) as *dakṣiṇā*. The finite verbal form *praty agṛbhṇan* seems to be appropriate. *AVŚ* (edition of R-W) shows the absence of a negative particle *na* in this *pāda*, which is in accord with the context, on the other hand, the latter editions of *AVŚ* retain the enclitic pronominal form *naḥ*. If we read this *Pāda* as : *tām u ha jaritar naḥ praty agṛbhṇan* (this reading is found at *GB* II.6.14), in that case the former *pāda* a and this *pāda* will have practically no difference so far as its interpretation is concerned. But, in fact, the context demands the presence and absence of the negative particle *na* in a and b *pādas* respectively of this verse.

Thus, the reading of the edition of R-W be regarded as the true one, and accordingly this *pāda* be rendered as: "O singer, this, they did accept". Here fem. *tām* refers to *dakṣiṇā*, which in this case is the 'white horse' the sun.

2.3 *Pāda* C :

From 1.03 (of this paper) it is obvious that there are two types of readings of this *pāda*. They are : *áhā néta sànn avicetanāni*, and *ahānetarasaṁ na vi cetánāni*[12].

Let us make an attempt to explain the former reading. The words *neta sann*, indeed, are conjecturally interpreted differently by Sāyaṇa and also by modern scholars. Sāyaṇa's gloss at AB VI.35.10 runs : *he'-ṅgiraso'yaṁ sūryaḥ san yuṣmākaṁ samīpe'sti tasmād avicetanāni viśeṣaprakāśa-rahitāny ahā tamoyuktāny ahāni neta na gacchata.* Of course, *neta* can be explained as *na+ita* (from √*i* 'to go', imperative second per. pl.) as Sāyaṇa and Ṣaḍguruśiṣya[13] explain. By accepting *neta* as the true reading, we are, indeed, faced with the difficulty with regard to its proper interpretation. However, Sāyaṇa's interpretation seems to be far fetched, and thus not very much convincing, too. Naturally, in order to properly understand this *pāda* we will have to think of

12. *Śāṅ ŚS* XII. 19. 2 a has : *ahā deta* (?) *sann avicetanāni*, which reading is unintelligible.

13. S. K. PILLAI (Ed.) *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa with the Vṛtti Sukhapradā* of Ṣaḍguruśiṣya, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. 176, Vol. III, p. 181. Kuiper in his letter dated August 28, 1970, pointed out to me that this is a case of mistaken grammatical notion.

some other possibility (-ties). Haug[14] suggests *netaḥ sann.* (in this and the next *pāda*) instead of *neta sann.* Moreover, he thinks that *netaḥ=nītaḥ*. Thus he renders "He (Aditya, the sun) being carried away, . ." "The latter reading, *ahānetarasaṁ na vi cetanāni*, also is a pretty puzzle to an interpreter. In the case of the former reading Weber[15] suggests *ned asann* in this and the next *pāda*. Vishva Bandhu[16] also expects *ahā ned asann avicetanāni*.

The latter reading may be written as : *ahā netar* (*=na+itaḥ?*) *asann avicetanāni*. It seems rather difficult to explain *netar* (*=na+itaḥ* ?) in this context. One may perhaps be tempted to take it as a voc. sg. form of *netṛ-*. In this case this possibility seems to be implausible, for this substantive *netṛ* will not give the proper sense to the context; moreover, the presence of accent in it (not in this *pāda* but in the next one) will not permit us to take it as a voc. sg. form. Even if we may set aside the accent phenomenon, even then it will be difficult to give any plausible and convincing explanation. In this case I am inclined to accept Weber's suggestion. Cf. *JB* II.116 *ahā ned asann apurogavāṇi*. Thus this *pāda* may be read as : *ahā ned* (*=na+id*) *asann avicetanāni* . . . "The days, indeed, may not be indistinct . . ."

2.4 *pāda* d :

The variant readings of this *pāda* are clear from

14. *Op. cit.*, p. 438, f.n. 32.

15. *Indische Studien*, IX. 306.

16. *Vaidika-Padānukramakoṣa* (*Saṁhitās*), Vol. I, p. 585.

1.04 (of this paper). They are: *jajñā neta sann ápurogavāsaḥ* (edition of R—W); *yajñānétarasaṁ na purogávāmaḥ* (the editions of P, VB and S); *GB* follows the latter reading, but differs in the reading *purogavāsaḥ* instead of *purogavāmaḥ*. *Śāṅ ṢS*, however, has an unintelligible reading *yajñā deta* (?) *sann apurogavāsaḥ*. Unlike 2.3, in this case, too, we will have to conjecture the reading *ned asann* instead of *neta sann* and *netar asann* (text reads-*netarasaṁ na*). The unintelligible reading *apurogavāmaḥ* seems to be a scribal error for *apurogavāsaḥ*.

WORDS OF NIGHAṆṬU TRACED IN THE VEDAS

SADHU RAM

In very ancient times when people in other countries were still in an uncivilized or semi-civilized state, learned scholars in India were busy writing treatises on phonetics, etymology, exegetics, grammar and other sciences and preparing indices, lexicons, glossaries etc., of different sciences. The glossaries were called the *Nighaṇṭus*. Besides the Vedic *Nighaṇṭu*, *Nighaṇṭus* of medical science were also compiled by eminent physicians, several of which are extant, e.g., *Dhanvantari-nighaṇṭu*, *Bhāvaprakāśa-nighaṇṭu*, *Rāja-nighaṇṭu*, *Kaiyadeva-nighaṇṭu*, etc. They give lists of herbs, vegetables, etc., and their synonyms and medical properties.

Of the Vedic *Nighaṇṭus*, only two have come down to us, one of the *Ṛgveda* and the other of the *Atharvaveda*. The latter is called the *Kautsavya-nighaṇṭu*. It was edited by Pt. Ram Gopal Sastri and published in the *Ārṣa-granthāvalī* of Pt. Rajaram of the D. A. V. College, Lahore, some time in the twenties of this century. Unfortunately, it is not available in any of the Delhi libraries. Of the *Ṛgveda Nighaṇṭu*, we have the edition published by the Vaidika Pustakalaya, Dayananda Asrama, Ajmer.

From the name of the *Atharvaveda Nighaṇṭu*, it may be presumed that its author was a descendant of the Kutsa family. But the name of the author of the *Ṛgveda-Nighaṇṭu* is not known. Since Yāska's *Nirukta* is an etymological and exegetical commentary on its words, some scholars are inclined to assign the authorship of this *Nighaṇṭu* to Yāska.

Our attempt in this article is to trace the words of the *Nighaṇṭu* in the *Ṛgveda* and see if they are used in the same sense as prescribed in the lists of synonyms. For this purpose, we shall use the available commentaries of the ancient Indian scholars as our guide. For instance let us first take the synonyms of *hiraṇya*. They are the following fifteen : 1. *Hemá* 2. *candrám* 3. *rukmám* 4. *áyaḥ* 5. *hiraṇyam* 6. *péśaḥ* 7. *kṛśanam*, 8. *lohàm* 9. *kánakam* 10. *kāñcanám* 11. *bharmma* 12. *amṛtam* 13. *marút* 14. *dátram* 15. *jātárūpam*.

Leaving out No. 5. *hiraṇya* which evidently means 'gold', we shall trace the remaining synonyms, not only in the *Ṛgveda*, but also in the *Vājasaneyi-saṁhitā* of the *Yajurveda*, and the *Atharvaveda* in order to make our study more comprehensive.

1. *Hemá* : The word is *hemán*, a neuter noun. It occurs only once in the *Ṛgveda* (9. 97. 1) in the instrumental form *hemánā*, where Sāyaṇa renders it by *hiraṇyena*. The word is not found in *VS* and *AV*.

2. *Candrám* : In *ṚV* 3.31. 15, Sāyaṇa renders it by *hiraṇyam*, and Veṅkaṭa by *suvarṇam*. But in *ṚV* 10. 107. 7, where the words *candrá* and *hiraṇya* both occur in

the expression *dadāti dákṣiṇā candrám utà yàddhiraṇyam*, Sāyaṇa explains *candrám* as *hiraṇyam*, and curiously enough, *hiraṇyam* as *rajatam*, quoting *TS* 1.5.1.2 *'rajataṁ hiraṇyam'*. In the plural form *candrāṇi* occurring in *ṚV* 5.42.3 and 6. 69. 10. Sāyaṇa renders it by *hiraṇyāni* and *āhlādakāni hiraṇyāni* respectively. In the compounds like *candrá-varṇāḥ, candrám-iva, candrāgrāḥ*. etc., he takes *candrá* in the sense of *hiraṇya* (*ṚV* 1.165. 12, 2. 2. 4 and 5.41.14), but elsewhere, he mostly translates *candrá* by *āhlādakam* or *āhlādakaram*. In *VS* 4. 26, Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara both render *candrāṇi* by *hiraṇyāni*. In *AV*, *candrá* does not occur in the sense of *hiraṇya*.

3. *Rukmám* : The word occurs in the masculine form *rukmáḥ* in the expression *rukmó ná* (*ṚV* 1. 88.2 and 7. 3. 6). Sāyaṇa's explanation in the first instance is *rocamānaṁ suvarṇam iva*, but Skandasvāmī takes *rukmáḥ* in the sense of the 'sun' (*rocamāna ādityaḥ tadvat*). In the second, Sāyaṇa gives *suvarṇam iva vā* as an alternate to *sūrya iva*. In the neuter form *rukmám ná* (*ṚV* 1. 117. 5), the rendering of both Sāyaṇa and Mudgala is *suvarṇam-ayābharaṇam iva*, but Skanda renders it simply by *ābharaṇam iva*. The word does not occur in *VS* and *AV*.

4. Ăyaḥ : The expression *áyo asya sthūṇā* (*ṚV* 5. 62. 7) is explained by Sāyaṇa as *ayaḥ hiraṇya-nāmaitat, ayomayā*, implying that the beam is made of gold. The compound) *áyo-hatam* (*ṚV* 9. 1. 2 is explained both by Sāyaṇa and Veṅkaṭa as *hiraṇyena hatam*, but the same compound in *ṚV* 9. 80. 2 is rendered by Vaṅkaṭa by *hiraṇmayena pāṇinā hatam*. The compound *áyaḥśiprāḥ* is explained by Sāyaṇa as *ayovat sārabhūtāḥ śiprāḥ* in *ṚV*

4. 37. 4, but the expression *hiraṇya-śiprāḥ* in *ṚV* (2.34. 3) shows that here too *áyaḥ* denotes *hiraṇya*. This may be taken as an evidence of the Vedic *Ṛṣis* having used the word *áyaḥ* in the sense of 'gold.') The word is not found in *VS* and *AV*.

6. *Péśaḥ* : The word does not occur in the *ṚV*, but another word *péśanāni* (ṚV 10. 1. 6) is explained by Sāyaṇa as *yad vā...peśa iti suvarṇa-nāma, hiraṇyavat hiraṇya-sadṛśāni tejāṁsi*. In V*S* 29.37, Uvaṭa renders *péśaḥ* by *suvarṇaṁ rūpyaṁ vā*, and Mahīdhara by *suvarṇam* only. In *AV*, the word does not occur.

7. *Kṛśanam* : The word occurs in the *ṚV* in its two instrumental forms *kṛśanaiḥ* (1. 35. 4) and *kṛśanebhiḥ* (10. 68. 11). On the former, Sāyaṇa comments : *viśva-rūpeṇa suvarṇena nānā-rūpam*; *Kṛśanaṁ loham iti suvarṇa-nāmasu pāṭhāt*, and Skanda remarks *hiraṇyaiḥ*; *hiraṇya-nāmaitat*. In the second instance, Sāyaṇa and Veṅkaṭa interpret *kṛśanebhiḥ* as *suavarṇair ābharaṇaiḥ*, and Skanda as *suvarṇa-sama-maṇḍanaiḥ*. In *AV*, the *mantra* 20. 16.11 in which *kṛśanebhiḥ* occurs is identical with *ṚV* 10. 68. 11 referred to above. In *VS*, the word *kṛśanam* does not occur.

8. *Lohám* : This word does not occur in *ṚV* and *AV*. In *VS* 18. 13, *lohám* does occur, and commenting on it, Mahīdhara remarks : *ayo loham. śyāmaṁ tāmra-lohaṁ, kāṁsyaṁ, rajataṁ, kanakaṁ vā*, and quotes: "*Lohaṁ kāṁsyayase sarva-tejase joṅgake 'pi ca*," *ityabhidhānāt*. He merely gives the synonyms of *lohá* after equating it with *áyaḥ* without expressly mentioning that *ayaḥ* here means *kanakam*.

9, 10, 11. *Kànakam*, *Kāñcanàm* and *Bhàrmma* are not found in any of the three Vedas.

12. *Amṛtam* : In *ṚV*, *amṛtam* does not occur in sense of *hiraṇya*, nor in *VS* and *AV*. But in *ṚV* 1. 72. 1, its plural form *amṛtāni* is explained by Sāyaṇa as *hiraṇyāni* with the remark *hiraṇya-nāmaitat*, but Skanda renders it by *havirmayādīni*.

13. *Marút*: *Marùt* is not used in the sense of *hiraṇya* in any of the three Vedas. As a matter of fact, it does not occur in its singular form in *VS* and *AV*.

14. *Dàtram* : In *ṚV* 3. 36. 9: Sāyaṇa explains *dàtram* as *dhanam* but its plural form *dàtrāṇī* occurs in *mantra* 2 of the *Bālakhilya* hymn (*ṚV* 8. 49) on which Sāyaṇa's commentary is not available. But in the edition of *ṚV* with Sāyaṇa-*bhāṣya* published by the Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala, Poona, in footnote, a commentary by some Vāraṇasī Paṇḍit is given in which *dàtrāṇi* is rendered by *hiraṇyādīnidhanāni*. This commentary has been taken from a manuscript that was bought by the institution at Rewa. In *AV* 20. 51. 2. *datrāṇi* means 'gifts' and not 'gold' or 'gold pieces.' In *VS*, *dàtra* does not occur.

15. *Jātàrūpam* : The word does not occur in any of the three Vedas.

From the above study, it becomes clear that several of the listed words are either absent from the Vedas or are not used in the sense assigned to them in the *Nighaṇṭu*. They may either have belonged to the lost recensions of the Vedas, or were later interpolations in the lists.

Another thing that surprised me and my friend Prof. Shuchi Vrat, who is tracing the synonyms of *gṛhá* in the Vedas, is that certain well known Vedic words like *ókaḥ* (*ṚV* 1.66.2), *sàdanam* (*ṚV* 1.164.5), *vasatiḥ* (*ṚV* 5. 2. 6.), *dhāma* (*ṚV*), etc., all of which mean 'a house,' have not been included in the *Gṛha-nāmāni* list. On the other hand, the word *sadanam*, is included in the *udakanāmāni*, which sense requires to be verified from its use in the Veda. Another curious thing that strucks is that Sāyaṇa sometimes assigns very unusual meanings to certain words, e. g., *udaka*, 'water' to *rájaḥ* (*ṚV* 1. 56.5) and *dhāma* (*ṚV* 1. 86. 11). Again, several other uncommon or unfamiliar meanings are assigned by him to the word *dhāma*, e. g. *śarīraiḥ* to *dhāmabhiḥ* (*ṚV* 8. 19. 14), *nāmani* to *dhāmanī* (*ṚV* 9. 66. 2), *dhārakaiḥ* to *dhāmabhiḥ* (*ṚV* 9. 102. 2), *dhārakaṁ karma* to *dhāma* (*ṚV* 10. 89. 8), *dhanam* as an alternate to *tejas* (*ṚV* 3. 51. 2), etc.

NOTE : As an after thought, I would like to make a remark on the epithets *hiraṇya-śiprāḥ* and *àyaḥ-śiprāḥ* quoted under No. 4 Àyaḥ. Each of them occurs only once in *ṚV*, the former as the epithet of the Maruts and the latter as that of the Ṛbhus. Is it because the Ṛbhus are lesser deities that they are said to wear a helmet of an inferior metal, and the Maruts, being superior gods, to wear one of precious metal ? In our opinion, it would not be wise to let a hero wear a helmet of gold so as to make him the marked target of the enemy for booty. Therefore, the word *hiraṇya* in *hiraṇya śiprāḥ* should not be taken in the sense of 'gold,' but in the sense of 'well burnished iron.' For this, we may

quote "*jyotir* (brightness) *vai hiraṇyam*" (*TS* 5. 5. 3. 4) and *ayaso hiraṇyam* (*asṛjata Prajāpatiḥ*) *tasmād ayo bahu dhmātaṁ hiraṇyasaṅkāśam ivaiva bhavati* (*SV* 6. 1. 3. 5). From this, it may be surmised that the helmets of the Maruts were also of iron, but were so well polished that they looked as if made of gold.

ABBREVIATIONS

AV—Atharvaveda

ṚV—Ṛgveda

ŚB—Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa

TS—Taittirīya Saṁhitā

VS—Vājasaneyi-saṁhitā of Yajurveda

DĪPA AND DVĪPA IN THE BUDDHA'S LAST WORDS

GENJUN H. SASAKI

In the *Pāli Nikāya* an important passage concerning the last teachings given by the Buddha says:

> "*tasmāt ih' Ānanda atta-dīpā viharatha atta-saraṇā anañña—saraṇā, dhamma—dīpā dhamma—saraṇā anañña-saraṇā.*" (*D* II. *100*; III. *58*; *V*. *154*, *163–5*)

(Hence, Oh Ānanda, Take refuge in your island, in yourself, not in others, in the island of truth, in truth itself, not in others.)

The Pāli term *atta* (self) in this passage implies *dhamma*. Geiger also equalizes *atta* and *dhamma* in his book, *Pāli Dhamma* (P.79). K. Bhattacharya is inclined to recognize Geiger's view (Cf. *L' Ātman—Brahman dans le bouddhisme ancien*, p. 62). As far as the early literature is concerned, this view is lucid, for we have the following passages:

> "*Yo kho Vakkali dhammaṃ passati so maṃ passati, yo maṃ passati so dhammaṃ passati; dhammaṃ hi Vakkali passanto maṃ passati, maṃ passanto dhammaṃ passati,* (*S* III, p. 120)

(He who seeth the Truth, Vakkali, he seeth me: he who seeth me, Vakkali, he seeth the Truth. Verily, seeing the Truth, Vakkali, one sees me: seeing me, one sees the Truth.)

In the later literature Buddhaghoṣa also recognizes the equivalence *atta=dhamma*. However, he adds an Abhidharmic interpretation, saying:

> "*Ko pan' ettha attā nāma. lokiya-lokuttaro-dhammo. ten'evāha: dhammadīpā dhammasaraṇā anaññasaraṇā ti.*" (*Sāratthappakāsinī*, II, p, 268; *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, III, p, 846.]

In the Abhidharmic view, as quoted above, *atta* implies *lokiyalokuttaradhamma* (mundane and supra-mundane states). The term *dīpa* compounded with *atta* and *dhamma*, therefore, should have the same meaning—'island' ('a resting place').

The Pali term *dīpa* in itself has two meanings, light (a light of lamp) and island. The former is found in J. II. 104; I. 226; III. 187; *Mhvs* VII. 7. 41; *Sn* 501; *A*.I. 55, *DhA* II. 548. For instance, "*dīpo lokassa nibbuto*" (*Mahāvaṃśa*, p. 17. ed. Geiger, 1908). The latter is found in the *DhA* II. 49. 94; *ThA* 154. For instance, "*so karohi dīpam attano khippaṃ vāyama, paṇḍito, bhava*..."(*Dhp*. 236, 238).

In Sanskrit literature, however, two terms, *dīpa* and *dvīpa*, are different from each other. Sanskrit *dīpa*, derived from *dī* 'to shine'—, means light (a lamp—light), while *dvīpa*, derived from *dvi—āp* ('double watered') means island. Both meanings are included in the Pali term *dīpa*.

Many scholars translated *dīpa* in the Buddha's last words into 'light', while another meaning was neglected.[1] Other scholars such as Adikaram and Childers also follow this English translation, rendering it as 'lamp'.

Another meaning of *dīpa*, 'double watered', can be seen in the commentaries on the last words of the Buddha. Buddhaghoṣa says:

"*Atta—dīpa ti mahāsamugataṃ dīpaṃ viya attānaṁ katvā viharatha.*" (*Sumangalavilāsinī* II. 548)

Atta—dīpa in the Buddha's last words means an island in the great ocean (*mahāsamugatam dīpaṃ*), certainly not 'a lamp—light'. More examples can also be found in the *Suttanipāta* (stanza 1092, 1094) and *Dhammapada* (verse 25, 236, 238) etc. *Dhammapada* (verse 236) reads: "*so karohi dīpam attano, khippaṃ vāyama, paṇḍito, bhava* ". Commenting on *so karohi*, Budhaghoṣa says: ' *so karohī ti so tvam samudde nāvāya dīpasam—khātapatiṭṭham*'' (*DhA* III, 336). A term *dīpa* in this passaage implies *dīpasamkhātapatiṭṭham* (a resting place called island).

'*Atta*' is a synonium of *dīpa, tāṇa, leṇa, gati, parāyaṇa, patiṭṭha,* all of which mean 'a resting place' modifying 'island':

"*atta—dīpā ti, attānaṃ dīpaṃ tāṇaṃ leṇaṃ gati parāyanaṃ patiṭṭhaṃ katvā viharathā ti attho.*" *Sāratthappakāsinī*, II, p. 268.)

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1. Confer to Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of Buddha* (II.) 110.), Fausboll, *English translation of Suttanipāta* (verse) no. 501) etc.

The Sanskritized passage of the last words of the Buddha (*D* II. p. 100) appears on the *Mahāvastu*:

"*ātmadvīpā bhikṣavo viharatha ananyadvīpāḥ ātmaśa-raṇāḥ ananyaśaraṇāḥ.*" (*Senart, Le Mahāvastu*, I. p. 334.)

We have the same Sanskritization of the Pali passage in a Turfan-Handschriften of *Das Mahāpari-nirvāṇasūtra* edited by waldschmidt. It reads:

"[*tasmād*] *ānandaitarhi mam* (*a vā*) *trayād ātmādvī-pair vihartavyam ātmaśaraṇair dharmadvīpair dha* (*rmaśara-ṇair anayadvipair anayaśaraṇaiḥ/ tat tasmād dhetoḥ*)."

The Pāli term *dīpa* is Sanskritized as *dvīpa* (island). Its Tibetan equivalent is also island (*glin*) but not '*mar-me*' (light).

Further, a Sanskrit '*dvīpa*' is used as compounded with such terms as *taṅa, leṇa, saraṇa*, all of which demonstrate 'a resting place, reliance, basis.' We have the same example in the Pāli literature (*D* 11. p. 100; *S* IV, 315; *V*. 154, 163-5 etc). This word is also a synonym of *patiṭṭha*:

"*atta-dīpā ti mahāsamuddagataṃ viya attānaṃ dīpaṃ patiṭṭham patiṭṭham katvā viharatha.* "(*DA*. II. p. 548).

'*Dīpa*' in Pāli is also expounded by *atta-saraṇā* and *atta-gatikā*: "*atta-saraṇā ti atta-gatikā va hotha, mañña-gatikā.*"

All synonyms of the Sanskrit '*dvīpa*' are equal to that of the Pāli '*dīpa*', as far as the Buddha's last words are concerned.

Even in the Mahāyānist texts we have the equalization of *dvīpa* with 'a resting place' (or 'island'). The Mahāyānist Sanskrit texts.[1] read:

"*lokasya trāṇaṃ bhaviṣyāmo lokasya śaraṇaṃ bhaviṣyāmo lokasya layanaṁ bhaviṣyāmo lokasya parāyaṇam bhaviṣyāmo lokasya dvīpā bhaviṣyāmo lokasyālokā bhaviṣyāmo lokasya pariṇāyakā bhaviṣyāmo'nuttaraṃ samyaksambodhim abhisambudhya lokasya gatir bhaviṣyāma ity evaṃ rūpam anuttarāyaṃ samyaksambodhāu vīryam ārabhyante.*"

The Sanskrit text as quoted above deals with a Mahāyānistic concept of Bodhisattva, while the Pāli texts such as *Dhammapada* and *Dīghanikāya,* in keeping with the Hīnayānist idea, deals directly with the disciple of the Buddha. Besides the difference of topic there is no distinction between the Sanskrit and the Pāli sentences at all.

'*Pariṇāyakā*' in Sanskrit appears in the *Milindapañha* in Pāli (*Miln* 257) : "*dhamma-dīpa-gati parāyaṇatā.*" Another term, newly added to the Sanskrit passage, is *ālokā*. If a term *ālokā* (light) could be equal to '*dvīpa*', then, ālokā and *dvīpa* would have been redundant. There is really a case, in which both *dvīpa* and *ālokā* are differently used in mean-

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1. (*AAV*. pp. 595—6; *Pañcaviṁśatisahasrikā*, *p*. 351.

ing : "*lokasya dvīpā bhaviṣyāmo lokasyālokā bhaviṣyāmo*[1] *Dvīpa* (island) and *ālokā* (light) in this example are not redundant. The Sanskrit text *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (*AAV*. pp. 599-600) comments on *dvīpa*, saying: "*tad-yathā'pi nāma subhūte ye pradeśā udaka-paricchinnā bhavanti nadīṣu vā mahodadhiṣu vā tā ucyante dvīpā iti.*" The term *dvīpa* in this commentary denotes a land (*pradeśa*) either in the river or in the ocean, which is limited by the water (*udaka-paricchinnā*). Haribhadra, commentator on the Aṣṭasāhasrikā, also finds it as a place limited by water (*udaka-parikṣipta-sthala*) (*AAV*. p. 600).

With the Chinese literature the term *dīpa* has been translated as both 'a lamp-light' and 'island'.

Saṅghadeva in the Hou Ch'in Dynasty (384-417 A. D.) wrongly rendered it into 'a lamp-light' in the *Mādhyamāgama*, which reads. :

"Make yourself a lamp-light." (T. I. 645 c).

This passage is just the same as one in the Pāli *Dīghanikāya* (*atta-dīpa viharatha*) and also one in the Pāli *dhammapada*, where *dīpa* meant 'island'.

We have also another Chinese mistranslation by Buddhayaśa and Chu-fa-nien in the Former Ch'in Dynasty (351-394 A. D.). It is translated as follows :

"Oh Ānanda, therefore, make yourself a light, and *dhamma* a light, but not others. Make yourself a resting place, and *dhamma* a resting place, but not others." (T. I. 15 b).

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1. *Abhisamayālaṁkārālokā*, ed. Wogihara, p. 596.

With the suggestion of Dr. P. V. Bapat we can point out another misinterpretation in the Chinese version of *Dhammapada* (25, 238) The Chinese translator of the *Dhammapada* 25, as Bapat suggested,[1] presumably did not realize the difference between *dīpa* and *dvīpa*, having rendered dīpa into a light of lamp. The comment on the *Dhp*. 236 exactly says :

"*samudde nāvāya bhinnāya dīpa-saṅkhātaṃ patiṭṭhaṃ viya attano kusala-patiṭṭhaṃ karohi.*"

(Just as a shipwreck finds a resting place in an island, so also you find a resting place or refuge in your own action.)

Guṇabhadra in the Liu Sung Dynasty (420-479 A. D.), however, rightly rendered it into 'island' in the *Samyuktāgama* (T. 2. 8a), which represents a translation :

"At that time the Buddha said to the disciples. Take refuge in your island, in yourself, not in others, in the island of truth, in truth itself, not in others."

Further, Buddhayaśa in the Hou Ch'in Dynasty (384-417.A. D.) used *dīpa* as a synonym of *saraṇa* (a resting place), *gṛha* (house) and *parāyaṇa* (the absolute path) (T. 19. lc). The same is found in the Chinese sūtra Chi-shi-yin-pa-chin by Dharmagupta in the Sui Dynasty. (581-618. A. D., T. I. 328 b.)

1. P. V. Bapat, "Atta-dīpa in Pāli Literature", *Sino-Indian Studies*, *Liebenthal Festschrift*, Santiniketan : Visvabharati, p. 11-13.

Tibetan renderings are also 'island' (*glin*) but not a light of lamp' (*mar me*).

In the last I would like to refer to Dr. Brough's suggestive view as expressed in his *Gāndhārī Dharmapada* (pp. 209-210), in which he mentioned my view.[1]

Fortunately, Brough also has come to the same conclusion that "in many places the sense of 'island' is quite unambiguous." On the other hand, he leaves a subtle doubt of accepting the rendering 'lamp' as simply a mistake. To prove it, he comments as follows: "The phrase *dīpaṃ karoti* presumably recalled the name of the former Buddha Dīpaṃkara, who is understood in Sanskrit as well as in Pāli to be a 'light bringer,' not an 'island-maker". What I presumed, however, concerned a Pāli term '*dīpa*' only in the Buddha's last words, not '*dīpa*' in proper. I quite agree with Professor Brough's view, in which he takes the former Buddha Dīpaṃkara as a 'light-bringer', not an 'island-maker'. But it is beyond the range of my topic concerned.

Referring to the Chinese translation in terms of 'light', Brough also presents a suggestive presumption, saying: "This was the sense primarily intended by the author of the verses (*Dhp.* 235-8). A translation with 'island' reads rather quaintly." Thus, he presumes that "if forced to continue walking through the night, a

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1. G. H. Sasaki, *A Study of Abhidharma Philosophy*, Tokyo: 1958, pp. xiv, 594 ff.). J. Brough, *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada*, London: Oxford University Press, 1962, pp. 209-210).

sensible man will doubtless find a lamp more serviceable." This metaphorical interpretation will be suggestive and valuable, if more textual evidences will be provided.

What I am mainly concerned with is simply a limited sense of *dīpa* in the last words of the Buddha and nothing more.

मनोविज्ञानगत 'इमोशन' का तुलनात्मक काव्य-शास्त्रीय विश्लेषण

हरिदत्त शर्मा*

'इमोशन' काव्यशास्त्रीय भाव का बोधन कराने वाली अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण मनोवैज्ञानिक्र अभिधा है। पाश्चात्त्य मनोविज्ञान के 'इमोशन' शब्द के पर्याय रूप में हिन्दी में 'संवेग', 'मनोवेग' तथा शिथिल प्रयोग में 'भाव' शब्द का भी प्रयोग मिलता है। 'वेग' शब्द के प्रयोग से ही इमोशन' में वेगवत्ता, तीव्रता या उद्दीप्तता तत्त्व के सन्निवेश का बोध हो जाता है। वस्तुतः मनोवेग को मनोविज्ञान में एक मत से 'अनुभूति की संक्रमित या उत्तेजित अवस्था', 'तीव्र अव्यवस्थित या उद्दीप्त मानसिक अवस्था' अथवा 'मूल प्रवृत्ति या सुषुप्त मनः संस्कारों की जाग्रतावस्था' कहा गया है। 'इमोशन' शब्द की व्युत्पत्ति से भी यह स्पष्ट है। एक अँग्रेज विद्वान् जे० ए० एच० मरे (Murray) ने अपने शब्द-विवेचन में 'इमोशन' शब्द की व्युत्पत्ति बताई है कि 'इमोशन' शब्द की उत्पत्ति लेटिन के 'इ' (बाहर) मूवरी (चलना) से हुई। मूलतः इस शब्द का अर्थ एक स्थान से दूसरे स्थान को चलना था। धीरे-धीरे इसका प्रचलन चलना, उत्तेजना, व्यग्रता आदि के अर्थ में भौतिक स्तर पर हुआ। अन्त में इसका प्रयोग व्यक्ति की उत्तेजित उग्र अथवा क्षुब्ध मानसिक दशा को सूचित करने के लिए होने लग गया।[1]

संवेग की उदयावस्था में मन में ही नहीं, शरीर में भी एक विचित्र प्रकार

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*प्राध्यापक, इलाहाबाद विश्वविद्यालय,

1. "The word 'emotion' is derived from the Latin 'e' (out) and 'movere' (to move). Originally the word meant a moving out from one place into other, in the sense of a migration. The word came to mean a moving, stirring, agitation, perturbation, and was so used in strictly physical sense..........Finally the word came to be used to designate any agitated, vehement, or excited mental state of the individual."

—Murray—*A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles.*

का संक्षोभ उत्पन्न हो जाता है। शरीर की स्नायुओं तथा मांसपिण्डों में होने वाले संक्षोभ को संवेग मानते हुए वुडवर्थ ने इसकी परिभाषा दी है।[2]

इस प्रकार मनोवैज्ञानिकों के ही विवेचन से यह सिद्ध है कि संवेग के उदय-काल में केवल मन में ही विकार या ओज संचरण नहीं होता है, अपितु समस्त बाह्य शारीरिक संस्थानों में भी पर्याप्त विकार या परिवर्तन आते हैं, जिससे उन भावों की अभिव्यक्ति होती है। मनोवेग के इन मानसिक तथा शारीरिक दोनों पक्षों को मेक्डूगल ने विवेचित किया है।[3]

मनःशास्त्री ड्रमण्ड तथा मेलोन ने भी मनोवेग के मानसिक और शारीरिक दो पक्ष बताये हैं तथा दोनों पक्षों के पृथक्-पृथक् तत्त्वों का विवरण दिया है—

मानसिक पक्ष में—

(१) किसी परिस्थति का प्रत्यक्ष, उसकी कल्पना अथवा स्मृति, जो मनुष्य के भौतिक, मानसिक, सामाजिक अथवा उच्चतर जीवन को प्रभावित करती है।

(२) सुख अथवा दुःख की ओर प्रवृत्त होता भावमूलक गुण।

(३) क्रियात्मकता की ओर प्रवृत्ति।

(४) आवयविक संवेदनाओं की जटिलता।

शारीरिक पक्ष में—

(१) प्रसरित आन्तरिक परिवर्तन।

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2. "Emotion is a moved or stirred up state of the organism. It is a stirred up state of feeling—that is the way it appears to the individual himself. It is a disturbed muscular and glandular activity—that is the way it appears to an external observer."

—R. S. Woodworth—*Psychology*

3. "But sometimes "an emotion" is used to imply the whole mental and bodily process of the moment ; and in this sense "an emotion" means much more than the emotional quality of our experience..............each kind of emotional experience is normally accompanied by bodily changes which are called "the expressions of the emotion".

—*An Outline of Psychology*, Ch. XI, page 317.

(२) स्नायविक संचरण।[४]

इसी प्रकार जेम्स ड्रेवर ने भी अपनी पुस्तक 'इंस्टिंक्ट इन मेन' में मनोवेग के पाँच तत्त्व बताये हैं, जिसमें इसके आन्तरिक तथा बाह्य दोनों पक्षों पर समान बल दिया गया है। कुछ मनोवैज्ञानिक मनोवेग को चेतनता की स्थिति (State of Consciousness) के रूप में पुकारते हैं। जैसा कि ड्रमण्ड एवं मेलोन का कथन है।[५] मनोवेग वस्तुतः मन की चेतनात्मक स्थिति में ही उदित होता है। मन का सुपुप्तावस्था से हटकर चेतना की स्थिति में आना ही मनोवेग का लक्षण है। मनोवेग मूल प्रवृत्ति की उद्बुद्ध अवस्था है।

मूल प्रवृत्तियाँ मानव-हृदय में सुषुप्तावस्था में पड़ी रहती हैं। मनोवेग ही उन्हें उद्बोधित या उत्तेजित कर क्रियाशील करते हैं। मूल प्रवृत्ति की अभिव्यक्ति ही मनोवेग का लक्षण है। इसीलिए मनोवैज्ञानिकों ने मनोवेग को अनुभूति की उत्तेजित अथवा संक्रमित अवस्था कहा है। मेकडूगल ने मनोवेग की इसी विशेषता पर प्रकाश डालते हुए उसका लक्षण दिया है।[६] इसी प्रकार टी० एच० रिबट ने भी उल्लेख किया है।[७]

मनोवेग का विश्लेषण तथा काव्य-शास्त्रीय भाव से तुलना

मनोविज्ञान शास्त्रियों द्वारा दी गई मनोवेग की उपर्युक्त परिभाषाओं से निष्कर्ष निकलता है कि :—

(१) मनोवेग एक मानसिक उद्वेग है, जो बाह्य विषय का सम्पर्क पाते ही उद्वेलित हो उठता है।

(२) यह हृदय में सुपुप्तावस्था में पड़ी मूल प्रवृत्ति की उत्तेजित क्रियाशील अवस्था है।

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4. *Elements of Psychology*—Ch. VIII p. 226.
5. "The emotion is the state of mind as it is consciously felt" —*Ibid* p. 230.
6. "Emotion is regarded as a mode of experience which accompanies the working within us of instinctive impulses." —*An Outline of psychology*, Ch. V, p. 128
7. "The emotion is excited by an external sensation which touches a spring and sets the mechanism of instinct at work." —*The Psychology of the Emotions*, p. 8.

(३ यह मन की क्षुब्ध, उद्दीप्त या संक्रमित अवस्था है।

(४) मनोवेग मानसिक एवं शारीरिक उभयरूपात्मक होता है।

(५) मनोवेग के अन्तर्गत सुखदु:खात्मक अनुभूति, चित्तवृत्ति, प्रत्ययबोध, आलम्बन, वेगयुक्त प्रवृत्ति, अभिव्यक्ति सभी तत्त्वों का सन्निवेश होता है।

(६) मनोवेग एक संचरणशील अनुभव है। इसका अनुभव अस्थायी ही होता है। इसीलिए कई मनोवैज्ञानिकों ने इसको ('Fleeting experiencc') की संज्ञा दी है।

संस्कृत काव्यशास्त्रगत भाव की सामान्य धारणा भी इस मानसशास्त्रीय भाव से समता रखती है। संस्कृत काव्यशास्त्र के स्थायी भाव ही नहीं, व्यभिचारी भाव भी अपने उद्‌बोध से पूर्व सुषुप्त वासनात्मक अवस्था में रहते हैं और वाह्य आलम्बन, उद्दीपन आदि से उत्तेजन पाकर ही उद्‌बुद्ध होते हैं। वस्तुत: प्रवान तथा स्थायी होने के कारण ही स्थायी भावों की वासना का विशिष्ट कथन किया गया है, वैसे संस्कार या वासना अन्य भावों की भी सहृदय के हृदय में रहती है, अन्यथा बाह्य विषयों से उद्‌बोध किसका होता ? अत: निश्चय ही संस्कृत काव्यशास्त्रीय भाव भी मन की क्षुब्ध, उद्दीप्त एवं संक्रमित अवस्था है। डा० भगवानदास ने 'इमोशन' का अर्थ किसी विषय के प्रति संचरण (motion towards an object) दिया है तथा इसकी संस्कृत काव्यशास्त्रीय 'भाव' से समरूपता स्थापित की है।[८]

इस प्रकार यहां भाव के 'भावन' अर्थ के आधार पर उसकी 'इमोशन' से समता स्थापित की गई है। मन:शास्त्रगत भाव की काव्यशास्त्रगत भाव से सामान्य एवं शिथिल रूप में यही समता मिलती है।

मराठी के कुछ आधुनिक काव्य-समीक्षकों ने स्थायी भाव को 'भावना' या 'इमोशन' का ही पर्याय माना है। श्री द० के० केलकर, प्रा० रा० श्री० जोग, द्वि० के० वेडेकर तथा सुरेन्द्र वारलिंग आदि विद्वानों ने स्थायी भावों को 'सेण्टीमेण्ट'

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8. "Emotion is only a form of motion; motion towards an object, or away from it in the mind, is Emotion. The correct Sanskrit word for Emotion, Bhāva, seems to have similar significance. It implies a 'becoming' a somewhat prolonged intermediate condition of passing or changing from one state to another."

—*The Science of the Emotions*—Ch. IV, p. 62-63.

मानने के मत का प्रत्याख्यान करते हुए उनकी एकांत मनोवृत्ति रूपता का खण्डन किया है। डा० रा० शं० वालिंबे ने भरतमुनि के आधार पर ही आठों स्थायी भावों को 'भावना' या 'इमोशन्स' के अन्तर्गत रखा है। इसी प्रकार डा० बारलिंग ने भावों को भावनात्मक मानते हुए विवेचन किया है कि—

यह सत्य है कि मूल प्रेरणा के बिना स्थायी भाव उत्पन्न नहीं होते, परन्तु सामान्य रूप से स्थायी भावों को मूल प्रेरणाओं से परिपुष्ट 'इमोशन्स' कहा जा सकता है। भरतमुनि के वचनों से प्रस्तुत मत सुनिश्चित रूप से ध्वनित नहीं होता। उनका स्थायी भाव से आशय मानसिक अवस्थामात्र प्रतीत होता है। यह बात अलग है कि प्रस्तुत अवस्था भावनात्मक अर्थात् इमोशनल होगी।[१] इस प्रकार भरतमुनि के आधार पर ही इन समीक्षकों ने भाव को 'इमोशन' रूप सिद्ध किया है।

परन्तु एक अंश में इतनी समता होते हुए भारतीय 'भाव' पाश्चात्य 'संवेग' की तरह एक संचरणशील अनुभव-मात्र उद्वेलन या उच्छलन नहीं है। वह एक भावज्वार या भावावेश मात्र नहीं, अपितु एक स्पष्ट एवं पूर्ण मनःस्थिति है। कम से कम स्थायी भाव तो एक स्थिर, व्यापक और पूर्ण अनुभव है। भारतीय काव्यशास्त्रियों की यह दृष्टि पश्चिम की आधुनिक नव्य-क्लासिकी चिन्तन धारा से अधिक मेल खाती है। उसी धारा के चिन्तक टी० एस० इलियट ने संवेग की परिभाषा करते हुए लिखा है :

अनुभूति संवेग का मूल है। अनुभूतियां जब व्यवस्थित, सामान्यीकृत, सारभूत एवं रूपबद्ध होती हैं, तो उन्हें संवेग कहते हैं।" संवेग की यह परिभाषा भारतीय भावविषयक धारणा के काफी निकट पहुंच जाती है।

मेक्डूगल ने अपने संवेग-विवेचन में एक बात और उठाई है, जो भारतीय भावधारणा से समता रखती है। उन्होंने स्पष्ट किया है कि संवेग को दो भिन्न अर्थों में प्रयुक्त किया जाता है एक संकुचित अर्थ में तथा दूसरे व्यापक अर्थ में। संकुचित अर्थ में संवेग को अनुभूति के एक विशिष्ट भावात्मक गुण (emotional quality of experience) के रूप में प्रयोग किया जाता है। अर्थात् इस अर्थ में भाव विशुद्ध अनुभूति-रूप होता है। दूसरे व्यापक अर्थ में संवेग के अन्तर्गत सम्पूर्ण मानसिक एवं शारीरिक प्रक्रिया (whole mental and bodily process of the moment) का ग्रहण होता है अर्थात् इस में भावों की बाह्य अभिव्यक्ति

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१. सौन्दर्याचें व्याकरण, पृ० ११९

तथा क्रियात्मक तत्त्व (Conative factor) का भी समावेश संवेग के अन्तर्गत होता है।[१०]

संवेग के इस व्यापक अर्थ की भाँति ही भारतीय काव्यशास्त्र में भाव की धारणा व्यापक रूप में ही प्रस्फुटित हुई। प्रारम्भ में आचार्य भरत ने व्यापक रूप से सम्पूर्ण रसव्यंजक सामग्री के अर्थ में भाव का प्रयोग किया जिसमें स्थायी, व्यभिचारी रूप मनोवृत्तियों के साथ-साथ विभाव-अनुभाव आदि बाह्य घटक भी अभियुक्त रूप से अन्तर्भूत हैं। इस प्रकार भरत के मत में भाव का प्रयोग व्यापक अर्थ में ही प्रारम्भ हुआ था, परन्तु धीरे-धीरे वह केवल चित्तवृत्ति के अर्थ में सीमित होता गया और अधिकांश आचार्यों ने उसे विशुद्ध अनुभूतिस्वरूप ही माना है। आधुनिक युग में रामचन्द्र शुक्ल आदि नव्य समीक्षकों ने पश्चिमी मनोविज्ञान के प्रभाव से पुनः भाव की व्याख्या उसी पुरातन व्यापक अर्थ में नये ढंग से की है। इस प्रकार विभिन्न दृष्टियों से देखने पर ज्ञात होता है कि काव्यशास्त्रीय भाव मनोविज्ञान की भावात्मक प्रवृत्तियों में से मनोवेग (emotion) के ही सब से अधिक निकट पड़ता है। भाव तथा मनोवेग के वर्गीकरण के आधार पर इस तथ्य को और अधिक समीचीन रूप से परीक्षित किया जा सकता है।

मनोवेगों का वर्गीकरण तथा उसकी भाव वर्गीकरण से तुलना

पाश्चात्य मनोविज्ञान में मनोवेगों को तीन वर्गों में विभाजित किया गया है—

(१) प्राथमिक अथवा मौलिक मनोवेग (Primary emotions)।

(२) व्युत्पन्न मनोवेग (Derived emotions)।

(३) मिश्रित या गौण मनोवेग (Blended or Secondary emotions)।

(१) प्राथमिक अथवा मौलिक मनोवेग

मनोविज्ञानगत मौलिक मनोवेग मानव-जीवन के मूल एवं प्राथमिक मनोभाव हैं। मौलिक मनोवेगों का सीधा सम्बन्ध मानव की मूल प्रवृत्तियों से है। ये मानव के अन्तर्हृदय में वर्त्तमान अव्यक्त मूल मानसिक प्रवृत्तियों को उद्बुद्ध और प्रकाशित करते हैं। इसीलिए मनोवैज्ञानिकों ने मानव की प्रत्येक मूल प्रवृत्तियों के साथ-साथ उससे सम्बद्ध मनः संवेगों को भी अपने विवेचन में अवियुक्त रूप से निबद्ध किया है। मौलिक मनोवेगों के मौलिक और प्राथमिक होने की इसी कारणभूत

10. *An Outline of Psychology*—Ch. XI, p. 316—17.

विशेषता का प्रतिपादन मेकडूगल ने किया है।[11] इस प्रकार मौलिक मनोवेग मानव के मूल भाव हैं। वे मनुष्य के चरित्र की शक्तियां हैं। वे मूलमानवीय प्रवृत्तियों के उत्थापक तथा उनके अभिन्न अंग हैं। ये स्वतन्त्र, अमिश्र तथा अखण्ड होते हैं।

(२) व्युत्पन्न मनोवेग

व्युत्पन्न मनोवेगों का मूल प्रवृत्ति से सीधा सम्बन्ध नहीं होता, अपितु उन्हें किसी अन्य मनोवेग के आश्रित होना पड़ता है। विभिन्न मानसिक स्थितियों के मध्य जब हमारी प्रकृति की विभिन्न क्रियात्मक प्रवृत्तियों कार्य करने लगती हैं, तभी ये मनोवेग आविर्भूत होते हैं, अतः शेंड ने इन्हें 'Prospective operations of desire' की संज्ञा दी है। इसके अन्तर्गत आशा-निराशा, हर्ष-विषाद, चिन्ता, विश्वास, पश्चाताप आदि मनोविकार आते हैं।

(३) मिश्रित मनोवेग

जब एक से अधिक मनोवृत्तियाँ एक साथ क्रियाशील होकर आविर्भूत होती हैं, तब मिश्रित मनोवेग का जन्म होता है। मिश्रित मनोवेग में प्रायः दो मनोवेगों का एक साथ अनुभव होता है या दो मनोवेग एक में अनुस्यूत रहते हैं, जैसे तिरस्कार के भाव में क्रोध, घृणा और अहंकार तीन मनोवेगों का मिश्रण पाया जाता है। इसके अन्तर्गत अन्य ईर्ष्या, चिन्ता, प्रतिकार, लज्जा, प्रकोप आदि मनोविकार आते हैं।

पाश्चात्य मनोविज्ञान में मनोवेगों का यह वर्गीकरण संस्कृत काव्यशास्त्र के भाव-वर्गीकरण से काफी साम्य रखता है। प्राथमिक मनोवेगों और व्युत्पन्न मनोवेगों का विभाजन संस्कृत के स्थायीभाव एवं व्यभिचारी भाव के सदृश है। प्राथमिक और व्युत्पन्न दोनों मनोवेगों के भेद-विवेचन से यह बात स्पष्ट हो जायगी।

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11. "The peculiarity of these emotions, which gives them their position of primary importance, is the fact that each one is the immediate inevitable result and subjective expression of the excitement of an instinct, an innate disposition specially directed to some particular mode of action.";

—*An Introduction to Social Psychology*—p. 364.

प्राथमिक एवं व्युत्पन्न मनोवेगों का अन्तर

मेकडूगल ने सामान्य रूप से प्राथमिक और व्युत्पन्न मनोवेगों में यह अन्तर बताया है—

(१) प्राथमिक मनोवेग किसी विषय अथवा परिस्थिति के चिन्तन का त्वरित परिणाम है। उस विषय अथवा परिस्थिति के परामर्शकाल में वह पहले से ही क्रियाशील किसी संवेग की पूर्वापेक्षा नहीं रखता। इसके विपरीत व्युत्पन्न मनोवेग समस्त दशाओं में हममें पहले से ही क्रियाशील किसी संवेग अथवा इच्छा की पूर्वापेक्षा रखता है तथा उन्हीं से नियमित होता है।[१२] (२) प्रत्येक प्राथमिक मनोवेग किसी न किसी मूल मानसिक प्रवृत्ति (instinctive disposition) से स्फुरित होता है और उसी की उत्तेजना की अभिव्यक्ति है, जब कि व्युत्पन्न मनोवेग का किसी मलप्रवृत्ति से ऐसा अविच्छिन्न सम्बन्ध नहीं होता, अपितु ये किन्हीं मूल मनःसंवेगों के कार्य करते रहने पर ही विकसित मस्तिष्क में उदित होते हैं, जैसा कि मेक्डूगल का कथन है।[१३]

(३) प्राथमिक मनोवेग को एक शक्ति कहा जा सकता है, क्योंकि यह एक प्रेरणा के साथ एक विशेष लक्ष्य की ओर चलता है। इसीलिए बहुत से मनोवैज्ञानिकों ने इन मनोवेगों को (Driving forces) या (Energies) के नाम से पुकारा है। इसके विपरीत व्युत्पन्न मनोवेगों को शक्ति नहीं कहा जा सकता है। वे केवल विचार और क्रिया का परिचालन करने वाली शक्तिमूलप्रवृत्यात्मक प्रेरणाओं के क्रिया-व्यापार में घटना मात्र हैं।[१४] (४) प्रत्येक प्राथमिक मनोवेग किसी न किसी मूल प्रवृत्ति से विकसित होता है। अतः इन मनोवेगों को स्थिरवृत्ति के मध्य

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12. *An Outline of Psychology*—Ch. XII, p. 345.
13. "While the primary emotions may loosely be said to have the specific tendencies of the instinctive disposition in which they are rooted, these derived emotions have no such specific tendencies for they are not attached to or rooted in any special dispositions. They are, therefore, not forces of character and cannot be said to be organised within the sentiments or in great hierarchy of sentiments which is the character of the individual."
    —*An Introduction to Social Psychology*—p. 367.
14. *An Outline of Psychology*, Ch. XII, pp. 345-46.

व्यवस्थित होने वाला कहना अनुचित न होगा। अतः प्राथमिक मनोवेग के द्वारा ही मूल प्रवृत्तियाँ व्यवस्थित रूप में सामने आती हैं। इसके विपरीत व्युत्पन्न मनोवेगों में से कोई भी इस तरह मस्तिष्क की संरचना के अन्तर्गत व्यवस्थित नहीं होता, क्योंकि वह स्थायी मनोवृत्ति से आविर्भूत नहीं होता, अपितु किसी न किसी मूल प्रवृत्ति के व्यापार के समय आकस्मिक रूप से उदित होता है।[१५]

स्थायी-व्यभिचारी की धारणा से साम्य

संस्कृत काव्यशास्त्र में भाव-विभाजन की स्थायी व्यभिचारी रूप धारणा पूर्णतः मनोवैज्ञानिक आधारशिला पर आवृत प्रतीत होती है। यद्यपि भाव-विभाजन में आचार्यों की दृष्टि पूर्णतः अभिनयोन्मुख रही है, फिर भी पश्चिमी मनोविज्ञान से उसका आश्चर्यजनक साम्य दिखाई पड़ता है।

(१) मनोवैज्ञानिकों ने मानव-जीवन के शाश्वत, सार्वजनीन एवं मूलभूत मूल्यों और भावनाओं को प्राथमिक मनोवेगों में समाहृत किया है। इधर संस्कृत काव्य-शास्त्रियों ने भी 'जात एवं हि जन्तुरियतीभिः संविद्भिः परीतो भवति' कह कर आठ या नौ मूलभावों को प्राणीमात्र के जन्मजात तथा अनादिवासना-संस्कार रूप धर्म माना है। मौलिक मनोवेग स्वतन्त्र, अमिश्र तथा अखण्ड है, उसी प्रकार जिस प्रकार स्थायी भाव किसी विरुद्ध अथवा अविरुद्ध भाव से विच्छिन्न न होकर अपरतन्त्र रहता है तथा स्वयं किसी भाव का अंग न वनकर दूसरे भावों को अपने में आत्मसात् कर अपने आश्रित वना लेता है।

व्यभिचारी भाव की स्थिति इससे विपरीत है। वे सदा प्रधान भावों के परतन्त्र रहते हैं और उनके अंग बनकर आते हैं। उनकी स्थिति सर्वदा प्रधान स्थायी भाव के अनुगामी सेवक जैसी है। कहीं-कहीं प्रधान रूप से व्यंजित होने पर भी व्यभिचारी भाव पर्यन्त में प्रधान स्थायी भाव के पोषक या व्यञ्जक ही सिद्ध होते हैं। बिलकुल यही स्थिति व्युत्पन्न मनोवेग की है। वह कभी स्वतन्त्र रूप से नहीं आता, अपितु वह किसी-न-किसी संवेग की पूर्णापेक्षा रखता है तथा उसी से नियन्त्रित होता है।

(२) प्राथमिक मनोवेग का किसी-न-किसी मूल प्रवृत्त्यात्मक क्रिया या सहज प्रवृत्ति से सीधा सम्बन्ध होता है, परन्तु व्युत्पन्न मनोवेग के मूल में कोई मूल मानव-प्रवृत्ति नहीं होती। भारतीय आचार्यों ने केवल स्थायी भावों को ही प्राणिमात्र में जन्म से ही रहने वाली वासना संविद् अथवा चित्तवृत्ति के रूप में विवेचित किया है।

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15. *Ibid*, Ch. XII, pp. 346-47.

'इन चित्तवृत्तियों की वासना से शून्य कोई प्राणी संसार में नहीं हैं, अभिनवगुप्त का यह कथन ही स्थायी भावों को प्राथमिक मनोवेगों के समीपतम ला देता है। व्यभिचारी-भाव में इस प्रकार की सकल लोक साधारण सार्वभौम धारणा नहीं है। उनका जगत् और जीवन के अनेक स्थलों पर व्यभिचार देखने को मिलता है, जिसका आचार्यों ने यथास्थान विवेचन किया है।

व्युत्पन्न मनोवेग के विवेचन में मेक्डूगल ने एक स्थान पर कहा है—प्रत्येक व्युत्पन्न भाव अनुभूति की एक ऐसी मनोदशा है, जो किसी विशिष्ट सहज प्रवृत्ति या मानसिक प्रवृत्ति के प्रत्यक्ष उद्बोधन तथा प्रभाव से सम्बन्धित नहीं होती, अपितु ये किसी स्थिति विशेष के अन्तर्गत परिचालित चेष्टात्मक प्रवृत्तियों के प्रभाव से उद्दीप्त होती हैं। वे व्युत्पन्न-भाव किसी विशेष चेष्टात्मक मनःस्थिति से सम्बद्ध नहीं होते, अपितु किसी भी मनःस्थिति के उपयुक्त परिस्थितियों में कार्यशील होने पर हमारी सम्पूर्ण चेतना को अपने रंग में रंग देते हैं।[१६]

मैक्डूगल के उपर्युक्त विवेचन से यह सिद्ध है कि व्युत्पन्न भाव का किसी सहज प्रवृत्ति से प्रत्यक्ष व स्थिर सम्बन्ध नहीं होता। व्यभिचारी भाव का भी मूल जीवन प्रवृत्तियों से सीधा सम्बन्ध नहीं होता, अपितु वे उन मूल भावों के पोषक रूप में संचरण करते रहते हैं। उनकी स्थिति स्थायी भाव रूपी वारिधि 'में उन्मज्जन-निज्जनशील' कल्लोलों जैसी है। स्थिर स्थायी भावों के क्रियाशीज रहने पर ही ये अस्थिर संचारी भाव क्रियाशील होते हैं और उन्हीं के आश्रय से हमारी चेतना को अपने प्रभाव से व्याप्त करते हैं या रंजित करते हैं।

(३) प्राथमिक मनोवेगों को एक शक्ति के रूप में माना गया है, क्योंकि वे मानव-चरित्र के प्रतिष्ठापक तत्त्व हैं, वे प्रेरकशक्ति के साथ एक मूल लक्ष्य की ओर अग्रसर होते हैं। स्थायी भावों का भी मूल और अन्तिम लक्ष्य मानव-जीवन

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16. "Each of them is a state of feeling or emotion which is not the immediate effect and expression of excitement or of anyone instinct or disposition, but rather arises when any-one of the conative tendencies operate under certain conditions. They seem to be connected with no special conative dispositions, but each of them rises to colour our whole consciousness when any one of these dispositions operates under the appropriate conditions."

—*Introduction to Social Psychology*—p. 365.

के मूलभूत तत्त्व पुरुषार्थ–चतुष्टय की सिद्धि है। जब कि व्यभिचारी भावों एवं व्युत्पन्न मनोवेगों का ऐसा कोई लक्ष्य नहीं है। यद्यपि मूलरूप से भारतीय धारणा होने के कारण पुरुषार्थ–चतुष्टय का सम्बन्ध प्राथमिक मनोवेगों के साथ कहीं भी शब्दतः अभिहित नहीं है, फिर भी विशेष लक्ष्य की ओर अनिवार्यतः अग्रसर होना ही इस साम्य का प्रेरक है।

प्राथमिक मनोवेग—स्थायी भाव—नामावली एवं संख्या

मनः शास्त्र एवं काव्यशास्त्र की अभिधाओं—प्राथमिक मनोवेग एवं स्थायी भाव—की नामावली पर ध्यान दें तो उनमें एक अद्भुत और आश्चर्यजनक साम्य मिलता है। संस्कृत काव्यशास्त्र के छः स्थायी भावों–भय, घृणा, विस्मय, क्रोध, रति और हास का तो स्पष्ट रूप से प्राथमिक मनोवेग के रूप में अभिधान किया गया है। एक मनोवेग जिसे मेकडूगल ने ('Distress' 'Feeling of Helplessness') के नाम से पुकारा है, शोक भाव से काफी समता रखता है। इसी प्रकार जिस मूल मनोवेग को मेकडूगल ने ('Elation' feeling of superiority, of masterfulness, of pride, of domination, or positive self-feeling) के नाम से अभिहित किया है, वह आत्मगौरव का भाव होने के कारण उत्साह भाव का द्योतक है। इस प्रकार संस्कृत काव्यशास्त्र के आठों स्थायी भावों का समाहार प्राथमिक मनोवेगों के अन्तर्गत हुआ है। इन मनोवेगों में परिगणित वात्सल्य भाव को अनेक आचार्यों ने स्थायी भाव के रूप में स्वीकार ही किया है। काव्यशास्त्र में स्थायी–व्यभिचारी के मध्य दोलायमान 'निर्वेद' भाव को एक मत से व्युत्पन्न मनोवेगों के अन्तर्गत ही रखा गया है। प्राथमिक रूप से परिगणित अन्य मनोवेगों में हीनता भाव (Feeling of subjection, of negative self-feeling) आत्मगौरव भाव का ही प्रतीप रूप है। इसी प्रकार सर्जनोत्साह (Feeling of creativeness) उत्साह का ही एक अंग माना जा सकता है। सामाजिकता की भावना, अधिकार भावना तथा क्षुधा इन मनोवेगों के बाह्य तथा स्थूल होने के कारण स्थायी भाव के रूप में इनकी गणना असम्भव ही है, भले ही वे मानव के मूलभूत मनोवेग हों।

वैषम्य-प्राथमिक मनोवेग-स्थायीभाव

वस्तुतः मानस शास्त्रीय मनोवेग और काव्यशास्त्रीय स्थायी भाव की धारणा में कुछ मौलिक विभेद हैं। कुछ मौलिक तत्त्वों के आधार पर उनमें साम्य स्थापित अवश्य हुआ है और नामावली की दृष्टि से वे काफी निकट भी प्रतीत होते हैं, परन्तु फिर भी उन दोनों में कुछ आधारभूत विषमताएँ हैं।

सर्व प्रथम, सभी मनोवेग चाहे वे मौलिक हों, व्युत्पन्न हों अथवा मिश्रित हों, नितान्त अस्थिर एवं क्षणिक हैं। उन्हें मात्र एक क्षणिक आवेग तथा एक तीव्र उद्वेलन माना गया है। जब कि स्थायी भाव मन की एक स्थिर तथा सुसमाहित स्थिति है, एक भावज्वार या भावावेश मात्र नहीं।

दूसरी बात यह है कि स्थायी भाव स्वयं में एक स्थिर वृत्ति हैं। परन्तु मौलिक मनोवेग अपने स्वरूप से पूर्ण अस्थिर हैं। उनका स्थायित्व उनके मूल में निहित सहज प्रवृत्ति के कारण ही है। अतः इस स्थायित्व की दष्टि से स्थायी भाव मौलिक मनोवेग की अपेक्षा सहज प्रवृत्ति तथा स्थिरवृत्ति (इंस्टिंक्ट तथा सेण्टीमेण्ट) के अधिक निकट हैं।

इसके अतिरिक्त आस्वाद्यता तथा आनन्दरूपता आदि जो स्थायी भाव के धर्म हैं उन्हें मौलिक मनोवेगों में खोजना तथा उसके आधार पर दोनों का वैषम्य निर्धारित करना अनुचित है, क्योंकि मानस शास्त्र तथा काव्यशास्त्र का गन्तव्य मार्ग भिन्न होने के कारण ऐसे साम्य-स्थापन का प्रश्न ही नहीं उठता।

व्युत्पन्न मनोवेग-नामावली एवं संख्या

व्युत्पन्न मनोवेगों में मेकुडूगल ने कुल आठ नौ मनोवेगों की गणना है—विश्वास, आशा, निराशा, निर्वेद, हर्ष, विषाद, दुःख, पश्चाताप आदि। इनमें से निर्वेद तथा हर्ष विशुद्ध रूप से व्यभिचारी भावों में परिगणित हैं। अन्य भाव तो प्रायः कथित व्यभिचारी भावों में ही अन्तर्भूत हो जाते हैं। स्वरूपतः अभिन्न होते हुए भी नामावली एवं संख्या की दृष्टि से व्यभिचारी भाव तथा व्युत्पन्न मनोवेग काफी दूर हैं।

मिश्रित मनोवेग

मिश्रित मनोवेग के सम्बन्ध में विचारणीय है कि वे काव्यशास्त्रीय भाव की किस कोटि से समता रखते हैं। मेक्डूगल मिश्रित मनोवेगों को दो भागों में विभाजित करते हैं, प्रथम वे मिश्रित मनोवेग जिसमें स्थिरवृत्तियों का अस्तित्व आवश्यक रूप से निहित नहीं रहता तथा द्वितीय वे जिनमें स्थिर प्रवृत्तियों (sentiments) का अस्तित्व निहित रहता है। प्रथम भेद के अन्तर्गत आने वाले भाव हैं—प्रशंसा (admiration) साध्वस या आदरयुक्त भय (awe) श्रद्धा (reverance) कृतज्ञता (gratitude) घृणा (scorn), अवज्ञा (contempt), अतिनिर्वेद (soathing)

संमोहन (fascination) तथा असूया (envy) द्वितीय भेद के अन्तर्गत भाव आते हैं—निन्दा या तिरस्कार (reproach), चिन्ता (anxiety) ईर्ष्या (jealousy), प्रतीकार भावना (vengeful emotion) प्रकोप या विद्रोह (resentment), लज्जा (shame) तथा विनय या शालीनता (bashfulness)।

ये सभी भाव मिश्रित भाव हैं और इनमें प्राथमिक तथा व्युत्पन्न सभी तरह के मनोवेगों का मिश्रण हैं, फिर भी ये सभी प्रायः व्यभिचारी भावों के पर्याय हैं। या फिर उन्हीं में अन्तर्भूत होने योग्य हैं। इनमें साध्वस, संमोहन, असूया, चिन्ता, लज्जा आदि स्पष्ट रूप से व्यभिचारी हैं, शेष व्यभिचारी बन सकने की स्थिति में हैं।

इस प्रकार नामावली एवं संख्या की दृष्टि से व्युत्पन्न तथा मिश्रित मनोवेगों एवं व्यभिचारी भावों में पर्याप्त अन्तर है तथापि दो भिन्नमार्गी शास्त्रों में धारणा की इतनीं समता मिल जाना ही पर्याप्त है। अतः पर्याप्त वैषम्य रहते हुए भी स्थायी भाव प्राथमिक मनोवेग से तथा व्यभिचारी भाव व्युत्पन्न एवं मिश्रित मनोवेग से अनेक रूपों में समताएँ रखते हैं। साथ ही मनोविज्ञानगत 'मनोवेग' (emotion) को ही काव्यशास्त्र में सामान्य रूप से प्रयुक्त 'भाव' शब्द का पर्याय कहा जा सकता है।

THE PHONOLOGY OF UKTHA-UKTA, UDGĪTHA-UDGĪTA AND THE LIKE

V. A. SARMA

In the Vedic literature the words *ukta* and *uktha*, *udgītha* and *udgīta* are used as independent words with different suffixal formations and denotations, but as derivations of identical roots. *Ukta* and *uktha* are derived from the same root *vac* = to speak; the suffix in the former is *-kta* either in the sense of *karma, kartṛ* or *bhāva;* that in *uktha* is *-thak* according to the *Uṇādi-sūtras*, II-163. *Ukta* is seldom used as an independent noun-form in the Vedic, except as an adjective or a participle in place of predicate of a sentence, as for example,

Uktaṁ sthānaṁ pramāṇaṁ ca[1]
Uktāḥ sañcarāḥ[2]
Uktā, Upaniṣad[3]
Uktānuśāsanāsi maitreyī[4]
(of course *sūkta* is a noun)

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1. *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, I-2-5c
2. *Vājasaneyi-saṁhitā*, Mādhyanadina Recension, 24.15, 17,19; *A Vedic Concordance* by M. Bloomfield, p. 246
3. *Kenopaniṣad*, 4-7
4. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, 4-5-15; *Eighteen Principal Upaniṣads*, Vol. I,pp. 10, and 256 (ed. Limaye and Vadekar, poona, 1958).

whereas *uktha* is an independent noun meaning praise weapon,[5] etc.

Ukthaṁ yadasya jāyate[6]

Ukthebhir vā sumnamāvivāsān[7]

.. *antarakṣiṇi puruṣo dṛśyate....tad uktham*[8]

Ranga Ramanuja explains-*ukthādi śastrātmā brahma cetyarthaḥ*.

Similarly *udgīta* and *udgītha* are derived from the same root *gai*=to sing. The latter with aspirated suffix -*thak* according to the *Uṇādi-sūtra* II-167 means a part of *Sāman*, *sāmno bhāgaviśeṣaḥ*. It is also used in the sense of *brahma*, *praṇava*,etc.

Udgīthena tvā chandasā sādayāmi[9]

Udgīthamasi[10]

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5. Hansaraja's *Vedic Kośa*, vol. I (Lahore, 1926) p. 542. śastram-*tad yadenacchyati tasmāt śastraṁ nāma*, *Śatapatha Brā*. 4.3.2.3. Generally *śastra* means 'praise', occasionally it is also used in the sense of weapon as in the above instance. Even in the latter sense it can be related to the meaning of *ukta* (what is said), since a said *mantra* plays a great role in serving as a weapon.
6. *Ṛgveda*, 9-47-3c
7. *ibid*. 2-11-16b (Bloomfield, p. 246)
8. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, 1-7-5
9. *Mai. Saṁhitā*, 2-3-4
10. *Śatapatha Brā*. '*Mādh*. Recension, 14-9-39 ; *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up*., 6-3-4

Udgīthaḥ prastutaṁ stutam[11].

The *Uṇādi-sūtras* show it as both *karma* and *kartṛ* : *ud gāyati gīyate vā*[12].

But *udgīta* is also found as an independent noun, besides its participal and adjectival usages. In the following it is used as noun :

Udgītam etat paramaṁ tu brahma[13].

Tāni vā etāni triṇi-sāmna udgītam anugītam āgītam. tadyathedaṁ vayamāgayodgāyāma, etadudgītam[14].

Durudgītam anusamāharati[15].

Śaṅkara reads '*durudgītam*' and explains, *durudgītaṁ duṣṭam udgītam udgānam*...... *udgātrā svakarmaṇi kṣataṁ kṛtamityarthaḥ*. Ranga Rāmānuja's reading is '*udgītham*'. But on the page 32n it is obsvered, *durudgītam iti pāṭhe'pi karmaṇi kta iti prakṛtodgīthagrahaṇaṁ sukaram*[16] (meaning *vedanahīnam udgītham.*)

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11. *Atharva Veda*, Śaunaka Recension, 11-7-5b. (Bloomfield, p. 246)
12. (*Daśapādyuṇādivṛtti*, ed. Mangal Deva Sastry, Sarasvati Bhavan Sanskrit Series, 81, 1943; VI-35)
13. *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad*, I-7
14. *Jaiminīyopaniṣad*, 1-55-14
15. *Chāndogya Up.* 1-5-5; (*Eighteen Principal Upaniṣads*, pp. 75,415 and 284)
16. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* with Rangarāmānuja's commentary (TTD publication, Tirupati, 1952)

Though it needs no explanation that contextually there is little semantic difference between the *kta*-forms and the *thak*-forms, one is tempted to trace them to a radical identity, the difference in the suffixes being necessitated by a change in the meaning in the light of context. That their roots are identical is a fact. Only the meaning differs on the ground of the suffixes being separate. But it is by all means justifiable to venture a theory that one form is only a phonological development of the other, if their meanings are not so far removed as to make it impossible to arrive at any relation between them whatsoever. This granted, we can presume a reasonable hypothesis that the unaspirated *kta*-forms are older and original; the suffix came to be pronounced with aspiration as a phonological fashion. *Ukta* in the sense of 'what is said' is used in general contexts where something has to be conveyed as merely 'said' but it is perhaps uttered with aspiration when some special sense like praise has to be meant. In the same way, *udgīta* is used in the general sense of 'what is sung or delivered' while it is pronounced with aspiration in the special sense of *Sāma* song, or a part of it.

But usually the physiology of speech mechanism tends to omit sounds in view of ease and economy, and so the aspirated forms have to be regarded as original and in course of time they came to be de-aspirated as it were. Grassmann's law of de-aspiration also testifies to this phenomenon. And the phonetic change from 'no aspirate' to 'the aspirate' appears to be somewhat strange. But there is nothing hard and fast in the human

phonetic system. The physiology of articulation may function in different, sometimes opposite directions also. Both in popular usage and in the grammatical tradition we find instances of phonological change occurring from simple surd or sonant to the aspirated surd or sonant. In the Vedic literature such cases are not uncommon.[17] For example, in spoken Telugu also we say

17. Some of the phonetic changes have been classified and formulated by the Sanskrit grammarians and comparative philologists. For example, the following stanza enumerates some of them :

Bhaved (1) varṇāgamāddhaṁsaḥ (2) siṁho varṇaviparyayāt, (3) gūḍho' tmā varṇavikṛteḥ (4) varṇanāśāt pṛṣodaram.

Sandhi rules in pāṇini explain many more changes. But there are yet other various sound-modifications that are in vogue, not yielding rules of Sanskrit grammar. For instance in the words *brahma*, *kahlāra* and the like 'hm' and 'hl' are interchanged and pronounced as *bramha* and *kalhāra* at least in our Southern parts. Apparently no rule justifies this. Similarly, in the *Śrutis* we notice many modalities pertaining to vowels as well as consonants. They are usually explained away as *chāndasa* or *ārṣa*:

acīram—aciram,-*Taitt.Up.* i-4
atigrāha—atigraha,-*Br. A. Up.* iii-2-9
anāraṁbaṇam—anālaṁbanam (ākāśa) *Br. A. Up.* iii-1-6
alūkṣāḥ—arūkṣāḥ (akrūramatayaḥ) *Taitt. Up.* I-11
ulūlavāḥ—urūravāḥ (vistīrṇaravāḥ śabdāḥ) *Chā. Up.* iii-19-2
kānīyasa--kanīyas (svārthe aṇi vṛddhiḥ(*BṛĀ. Up.*i-3-1
caṇḍāla—caṇḍāla —do— iv-3-22
palyayate—paryeti; vipalyeti—viparyeti, -do-iv-3-2
paulkasa—pulkasa -do - iv-4-3
vācāraṁbhaṇam—vāgāraṁbhaṇam—vāgālaṁbanam, *Chā. Up.*vi-1-4
vaiśvānara—viśvānara (viśvo nara eva vā) *Māṇḍūkya Up.*
Śīkṣā—śikṣā,-*Taitt. Up.* i-2
sarira—salila, -*Taitt Ara.* iv. 88-93

The explanations are given by Śaṅkara in his *Upaniṣadbhāṣyas*. It would be a very interesting study if such instances are formulated in some rules, rather than disposed of as *chāndasa*.

'*kharma*' for *karma* when some emphasis of bad luck is meant. Without even this much of modification in the meaning the Vaidika highbrows say *dhāramu* for *dāramu* (thread) and *bhāvi* for *bāvi* (well); hence the joke that a Vaidika cat would say 'mrew' instead of 'mew'.

'Aspirate media,' says A. A. Macdonell in his *Vedic Grammar*[18] (p. 22), 'which represents the same IE sound is a media combined with *h*. This is proved by the express statements of the *Prātiśākhyas*, (RPr. xiii-2-5; TPr. ii-9). On aspirates in contact with mutes he says, 'Of two mutes in juxtaposition (of which both must be voiced or both voiceless) the second only can be aspirated'. Among the examples are *uktha*, *labdha*, *viddha*, etc. He clearly shows that in

labdha=labh+ta (from *labh*)
viddha=vidh+ta (,, *vyadh*)

it is the — *kta* that has been aspirated. Of course these are cases of assimilation. But it suffices for our purpose that these can be taken as instances of a certain articulational tendency from 'no aspirate' to the aspirate which is noticed in *ukta-uktha*, *udgīta-udgītha* and the like.

Burrow also notes this phenomenon in his book, *The Sanskrit Language.*[19] He gives as examples words with suffixes originally containing simple surds and sonants which later have assumed aspiration :

syand>sindhu
*rotah>ratha
caturtā>caturtha

18. Strassburg, 1910 Edn.
19. Faber and Faber, London

He of course says that the IE suffix is 'ah' and 'H' remains in the form of aspiration of a preceding occlusive as also in *Makah>makha*.

He further observes that most of these forms seem to belong to the class of thematically extended action nouns (see pp. 70,71,191 & 195). He also mentions *ukta-uktha*.

But apparently such forms with and without aspiration show a difference in meaning in certain places. That is why the Sanskrit etymologists have attached different suffixes.

On the whole, the form ending in suffixes like -*kta* and those of *tha*-group, and other similar ones with simple and aspirate surds or sonants are seen derived from identical roots.

This encourages us to treat the words with aspirate-suffixes as articulational modifications of their unaspirated, simple parallels. And wherever this is the case, the differences of meaning can also be interrelated. Wherever this is not possible we have every reason to accept different suffixes, e.g. *niśītha*, *avagatha*, etc.

Confining ourselves to Sanskrit, we can include some more instances :[20]

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20. *Pibati tejaḥ pītho raviḥ | hanti hato vyādhiḥ*

The -*kta* of which this -*tha* could be a modification is here used in the sense of *kartṛ*.

'ricyate iti riktham' in the sense of *karma*. *See Prakriyā-kaumudī* with Viṭṭhala's comm. (Bombay Sanskrit and Prākṛt Series lxxxii, p. 625.

sikta poured out; *siktha*-boiled rice from which water has been poured off. *Nirṛtha* personification as destroyer; nirṛta-decayed. See Monier Williams' *Sanskrit Dictionary*.

nīta~nītha (in the sense of *Kartṛ*, the aspirate form of the suffix is styled—*Kthan* in the *Uṇādis*).

pīta~pītha

sikta~siktha

nirṛta~nirṛtha

hata~hatha

rikta~riktha

skand~skandha

In some cases initial aspiration is found as in

cand>chandas

cadi āhlādane, cande rādeśca chaḥ[21]

candayatīti chandaḥ vedaḥ[22]

The Sanskrit etymologists call this phenomenon *varṇa-vyāpatti* : *nigantavaḥ santo nigamān nighaṇṭava ucyante ityaupamanyavaḥ*[23]

Durga says on this, *atiparokṣavṛttinā gakārasthāne ghakāram kṛtvā......varṇavyāpattyādilakṣaṇam.*

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21. *Uṇādi-sūtra*, III-658

22. *Daśapādyuṇādi*, IX-78

23. *Nirukta* with Durga and Sivadatta Sarma's comms., Venkatesvara Steam Press, Bombay, 1891. p. 6

He further gives three steps in arriving at the forms of words etymologically, *trividhā hi śabdavyavasthā... uktakriyāḥ pratyakṣavṛttayaḥ; antarlīnakriyāḥ parokṣavṛttayaḥ; atiparokṣeṣu śabdeṣu nirvacanābhyupāyaḥ...*

For example, *nigamayitāraḥ* is *pratyakṣavṛtti*

nigantavaḥ ,, *parokṣavṛtti*

nighaṇṭavaḥ ,, *atiparokṣavṛtti*.

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(Babu Ram Saksena)

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SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION INTO ROMAN

अ	a	ॠ	ṝ
आ	ā	ए	e
इ	i	ऐ	ai
ई	ī	ओ	o
उ	ü	औ	au
ऊ	ū	अनुस्वार	ṁ
ऋ	ṛ	विसर्ग	ḥ

क्	k	न्	n
ख्	kh	प्	p
ग्	g	फ्	ph
घ्	gh	ब्	b
ङ्	ṅ	भ्	bh
च्	c	म्	m
छ्	ch	य्	y
ज्	j	र्	r
झ्	jh	ल्	l
ञ्	ñ	व्	v
ट्	ṭ	श्	ś
ठ्	ṭh	ष्	ṣ
ड्	ḍ	स्	s
ढ्	ḍh	ह्	h
ण्	ṇ	क्ष्	kṣ
त्	t	त्र्	tr
थ्	th	ज्ञ	jñ
द्	d		
ध्	dh		

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